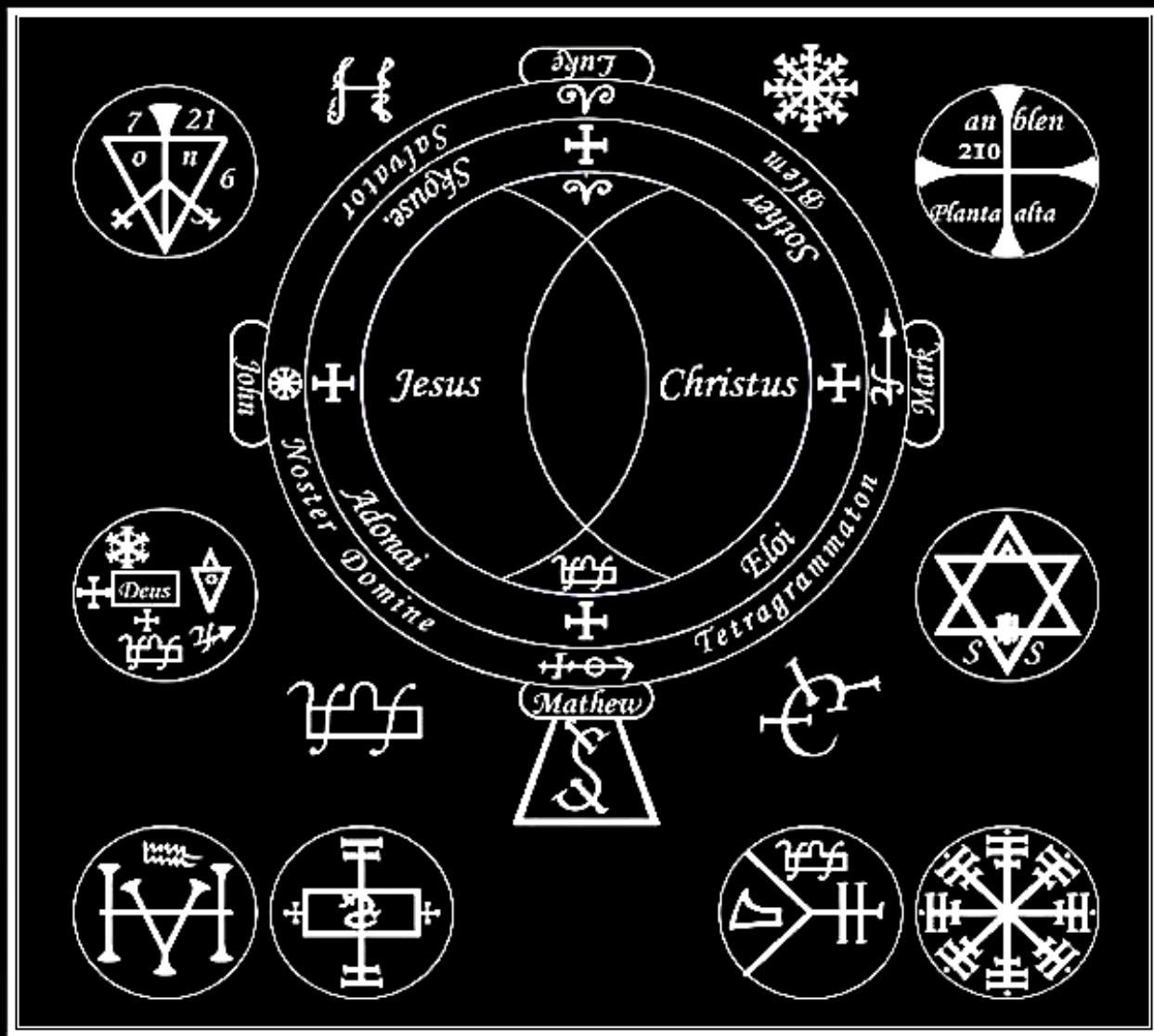


# LONGOBARDUS

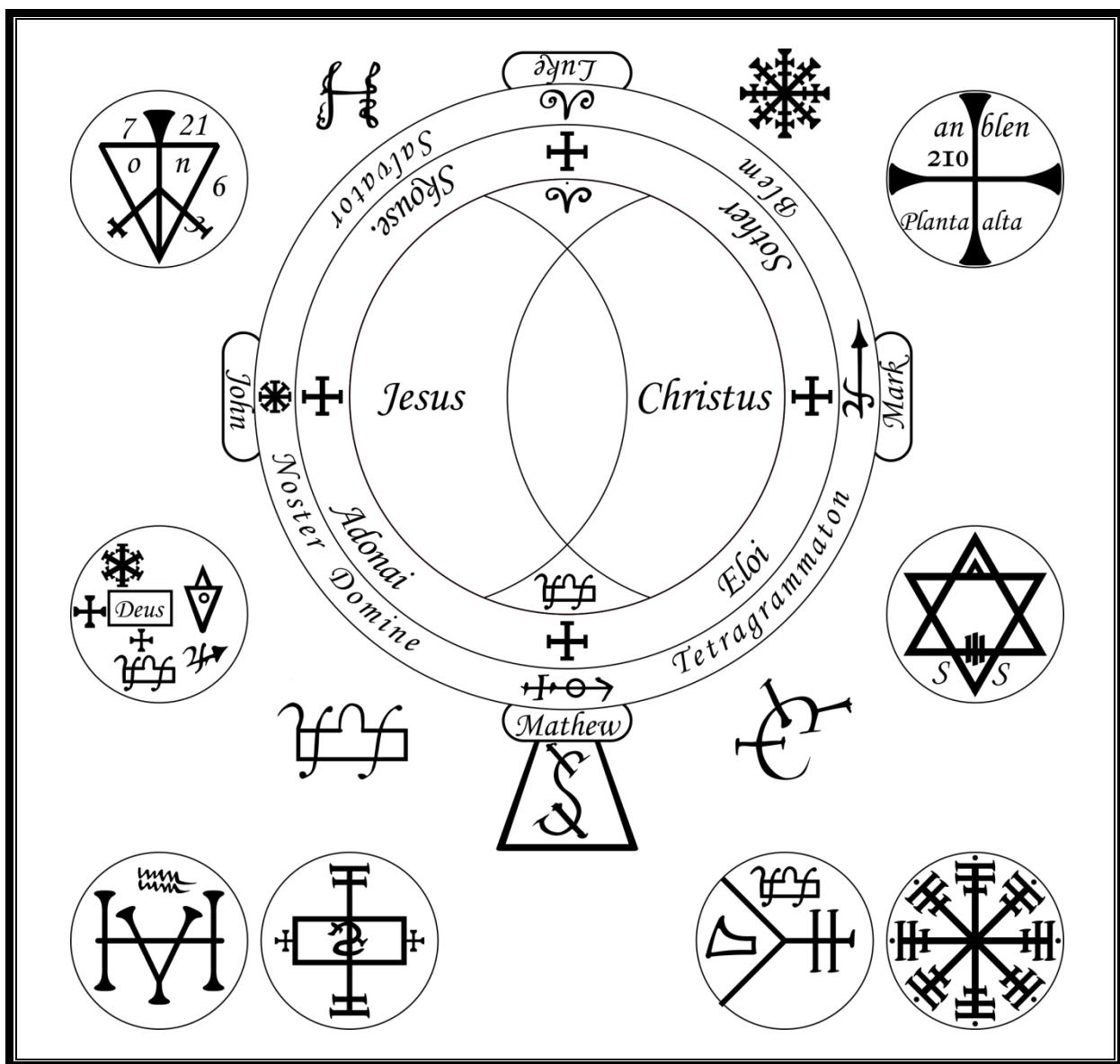


*A seventeenth-century collection of works on Magic.*

*Being a transcription of BL Sloane MS. 3824.*

Transcribed and annotated by  
“T.S.”

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Issued by Celephaïs Press, Leeds.

Transcribed and edited by Frater T.S.

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This is an incomplete provisional release: several pages of talismanic figures are still to be redrawn.

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*Source.*

The following transcriptions are based on digitised images made (apparently in 2003) from microfilm photographs of the manuscript, which have been in Internet circulation for a while (as a PDF which also includes Sloane MSS. 3677 & 3821). The digitisation process reduced the greyscale photographs to 1-bit black & white, albeit at fairly high resolution (probably 500 dpi or more effective) resulting in some loss of detail; rubricated text in particular is frequently nigh-unreadable. Owing to the tight binding of the original MS. combined with the settings used for digitisation, text is lost in the gutter in many places.

*Note on the transcription.*

English spelling, punctuation and capitalisation has been retained as far as the MS. is legible. English orthography was not standardised at the time this MS. was written down, and it is not unusual to see multiple spellings of a word in the course of a single page or even paragraph. Modernising spelling could be misleading as English usage has also changed in the three and a half centuries or so since this was written.

Names of angels, spirits &c. are standardised in so far as, if a name is consistently spelt one way in the course of a particular text, variants that only occur once are generally treated as copyist errors. If there is sufficient variation to make establishing a standard orthography impossible, then the variants are transcribed.

Words or parts of words lost in the gutter or to torn edges are conjecturally restored from context where possible, flagged with double square brackets — [[these things]]

Boldface has been used to represent words that are lettered out rather than written cursively, typically names of angels or spirits, names or titles of God, &c. Rubrication is used where the MS. is apparently rubricated.

Scribal abbreviations have been expanded (y<sup>e</sup> for 'the'; y<sup>t</sup> for 'that'; -cōn for '-tion'; w<sup>ch</sup> for 'which'; w<sup>f</sup> for "what," w<sup>th</sup> for "with," -m<sup>s</sup> for '-ments,' tildes generally, &c.) with the exception that '&' for 'and' is retained as this is still in general use.

Line breaks are not generally noted or reproduced. Catch-words (and duplicated words at page breaks in the text body) are not generally transcribed. Cancelled text is footnoted rather than included in the body.

The start of each page is noted in square brackets, in blue, with the current official foliation.

Figures have been redrawn.

## Summary of contents.

Sloane MS. 3824 is a collection of multiple originally separate works, with different authors and copyists, that were bound up together prior to being acquired by Hans Sloane in the sale of Joseph's Jekyll's library in 1739/40.<sup>1</sup>

The first half or so (fol. 2-79) appears to have been a single notebook, the vast bulk of the text in which is in one hand, generally believed to be that of Elias Ashmole, copied or summarized from multiple earlier MSS. The significance of the title "Longobardus," which appears on fol. 2r (with a contents list in a later hand, probably by Sloane's librarian, below it) is unclear,<sup>2</sup> and possibly only refers to the materials on fol. 3-29, or even 3-15.

The contents of this notebook are:

- Fol. 3-15 form a collection of prayers and conjurations based around "calling forth of Elemental or Infernal Powers, or Spirits of Darkness": there is a preliminary prayer, an invocation of "L[ucifer] B[eelzebub and] S[atan]" to beat up on lesser spirits, a conjuration of a group of named spirits for the purpose of treasure-hunting, and a general conjuration (deriving from the Solomonic *Vinculum Spirituum* via the *Heptameron* of pseudo-Abano) addressed to any "Spirit or Spiritual power" whose name is to be plugged in where the text reads "N." These materials share style and significant elements of phrasing with the "Invocation of Angels" texts of the same period.<sup>3</sup>
- Fol. 16-21 contain a process to catch a thief and recover stolen goods, calling on four "Bishops" who are in turn said to be underlings of the traditional Demon Kings of the quarters: similar or analogous processes citing the same four spirits can be found in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century works.
- Fol. 22-29 contain a general rubric and string of conjurations for evoking spirits to visible appearance, adapted from the *Heptameron* and *Ars Goëtia* (which latter in turn depends on the *Heptameron*). This item has an earliest possible date of 1665, which in turn provides a *terminus a quo* for the copies filling the rest of this division.
- Fol. 30-52 contain notes on, and excerpts from, the angel-magic treatise *Janua Magica Reserata* (probably ca. 1660).
- Fol. 53-70 form "The Second Parte of the Arte of King Solomon," an incomplete copy of the *Ars Theurgia-Goëtia* of the *Lemegeton*. The vast bulk of the spirit seals and names of subordinate spirits, as well as 15 of the 31 chief spirits, are missing.
- The rest of this section is a collection of miscellaneous figures, talisman designs and a short process "to binde all sorts of Witches & Theives."

<sup>1</sup> Of the five divisions of the work, at least three contain writing in the hand of Elias Ashmole (1617-1692). The material was acquired at some point by English politician and lawyer John Somers (or Sommers) (1651-1716) and later inherited by his protégé and brother-in-law Joseph Jekyll (1663-1738); after Jekyll's death it was purchased, along with others on similar subjects, by Sloane, whose collection was in turn acquired in 1753 by the newly-established British Museum. See Chardonnens, "Magic Manuscripts from Somers and Jekyll." Several of the MSS. in this collection had been previously owned by Ashmole and Sloane 3824 was not the only one scribed in whole or part by him.

<sup>2</sup> "Robertus Longobardus" or "Robert Lombard" appears as a variation of "Rupertus Lombardus," the imputed author of the *Thesaurus Spirituum*, a work on magic denounced by Trithemius in his *Antipalus Malificorum* (the *Thesaurus* is also ascribed to the 13<sup>th</sup>-century monk Roger Bacon). See Klaassen, *Transformations of Magic*, p. 234.

<sup>3</sup> Comprising *Janua Magica Reserata* (Sloane MS. 3825 fol. 3-96), *Clavicula Tabularum Enochii* (Sloane MS. 307, Sloane MS. 3821 fol. 2-157), and the other collections of conjurations in Sloane 3821. See *On the Invocation of Angels* (Celephaïs Press, 2022).

At some point, the following materials were bound up with it:

- Fol. 80–88 consist of (a) six leaves of circular talismanic designs (37 total, plus two incomplete / cancelled and a large number of empty circles), with accompanying text, arranged somewhat haphazardly, (b) two leaves bearing a conjuration titled “The Tenth Key” (relating to the *Janua Magica Reserata*), inserted into the above, and (c) a small figure bearing names drawn from Dee’s “Tables of Enoch” inserted into *that*.
- Folios 89–120 form a single notebook containing a collection of spells and spirit-summoning “experiments,” many revolving around treasure-hunting, and what appears to be of excerpts from one or more *De officiis spirituum* versions, including significant material not found in the well-known *Pseudomonarchia Daemonum* and *Ars Goëtia* editions (as well as all four spirits who are not found in the *Pseudomonarchia* but are in the *Ars Goëtia*). Two loose leaves, one containing unrelated material (connected with the *Janua*), and one in the same hand as the main text, bearing a design for a magic circle, have been bound up inside this section. The full-page illustration of a dragon or wyvern, which forms the frontispiece of Sloane 3824 as currently bound, appears based on a figure associated with one of the processes in this section. There are some corrections in Ashmole’s handwriting. The final section includes material drawn from printed works indicating a *terminus a quo* for its redaction of 1659: and some earlier sections depend on the 1651 English edition of *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*.
- Fol. 121–130, under the title *Trithemius Redivivus*, contain material adapted and translated into English from the first 13 chapters of Book I of the *Steganographia* of Trithemius. This connects with the “The Second Part of the Art of King Solomon” in so far as Book I of the *Steganographia* was the source for the names of the spirits and the numbers and a few characters associated with them. The “conjurations” comprising the name of a spirit followed by a string of seemingly senseless and barbarous words are cipher texts describing various cryptographic / steganographic systems.
- Fol. 131–154 contain an edited, rearranged and expanded (bloated, rather) version of the *Heptameron seu elemental magica* of pseudo-Abano. The bulk of the text varies sufficiently with the Robert Turner versions to suggest independent translation of both the conjurations and rubric. Portions are in the same hand as fol. 3–79; however, these are not limited to corrections and marginalia, but include parts of the text body.

Some of the material in this MS. has been typeset previously. A volume called *The Book of Treasure Spirits* by David Rankine (London: Avalonia, 2009) includes the material from fol. 3–29 and 89–120 (with some minor omissions). References in my notes to “Rankine” are to this typeset, which was, it should be emphasised, never advertised or represented as a complete or scholarly edition of the MS., but which, per the title, focuses on the treasure-hunting theme prominent in the notebook I have prosaically titled “Some Experiments of Spirits.” Some (but not all) of the material in this volume relating to the *Janua Magica Reserata* was also included as an appendix to Skinner & Rankine’s edition of the *Janua, Keys to the Gateway of Magic*, as was the account of the Four Kings from fol. 117–120.

## Sigla

[...] Marks text (generally a single word or part of a word) illegible or lost due to blotting, torn edges, over-tight binding of the MS., etc.

[ ] Marks conjectural restoration of words or partial words unreadable in the MS. for one reason or another.

[ ] Marks conjectural restoration of words omitted in text due to copyist error. Used sparingly, most commonly where the text is a repeating formula or an identifiable copy or quotation from another work.

( ) Marks words written in text in error that should be disregarded, most commonly single words duplicated by scribal eye-skip.

<illegible> Typically marks a single illegible or doubtful word.

fol. Folio.

MS. Manuscript.

OOP Cornelius Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*. Unless otherwise stated references including page numbers are to the 1651 edition, translated into English by “J. F.” and “Printed by R. W. for Gregory Moule” in London.

r Recto

S1 British Library, Sloane MS. 3821.

S4 British Library, Sloane MS. 3824.

S5 British Library, Sloane MS. 3825. Typesets of most of the contents can be found in Peterson, *Lemegeton* and Skinner & Rankine, *Keys to the Gateway of Magic*.

sec. man. *Secundu manu* – indicates words written in different handwriting to the main text.

Steg. Johannes Trithemius, *Steganographia, hoc est ars per occultam scripturam animi sui voluntatem absentibus aperiendi certa*.

sup. lin. *Supra linea* – indicates words written in above the main text line.

T1606 Johannes Trithemius, *Steganographia, hoc est ars per occultam scripturam animi sui voluntatem absentibus aperiendi certa*, Frankfurt, 1606.

T1655 Robert Turner (trans.), *Henry Cornelius Agrippa his Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy, of Geomancy, &c. &c.*, London, 1655.

T1665 Robert Turner (trans.), *Henry Cornelius Agrippa his Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy, of Geomancie, &c. &c.*, London, 1665.

T&FR Meric Casaubon (ed.), *A True & Faithful Relation of what passed for many years between Dr. John Dee [...] and some Spirits &c. &c. &c.* London, 1659.

v Verso

V.b. 26 Folger Shakespeare Library, MS. V.b. 26, “Book of Magic, with instructions for invoking spirits.” Late 16<sup>th</sup>-century (portions internally dated 1577–83). Typeset in Harms, Clark & Peterson (eds.), *The Book of Oberon*.



## *A Prayer to be said before the Calling Forth of Elementall or Infernall Powers, or Spirits of Darkness.*

[3r] O most high, Immense, Immortall, Incomprehensible, and Omnipotent Lord God of Hosts, the only Creator of Heaven & Earth, & of all things contained therein; who, amongst all other admirable works of the Creation, hast made Man, according to the express Image of thy self, dignifying him with more divine, Cœlestiall & Sumblim Excellency, & superior parts and participiations, cohering with the most high & sacred Godhead, Angells, Heavens, Elements, & Elementall things; & given him an Imperiall Sovereignity, over all Sublunar things in the Creation, both Animall, Vegetable, Minerall & Elementall: and next who hath likewise given to Man, a Soveraigne power over all sublunar Spirits, both Ayerall, Terrestriall & otherwise Elementall, residing in Orders & Mansions proper, & other wandring Spirits out of Orders or Mansions proper, both of Light & Darknes, & alsoe Infernall Spirits, & subjeceted them to his Obedience & Service, whensoever he shall Command, Constraine, Call forth & move them to visible appearance, in order thereunto. Now then O most high & heavenly God, we thy humble Servants, reverently here present in thy holy feare, doe bessech thee in thyne infinite Mercy & paternall goodness, that all Sunblunar Spirits both Elementall and [3v] residing in Orders, & otherwise wandring out of Orders, both of Light & Darknes, & also Infernall Powers, may at the reading & rehearsal of our Invocations, Coniurations & Constrigations, & by thee commanded, & compelled, & constrained, obediently and peaceably to move & appeare visibly, in faire & decent Forme & Shape, & in noe wise hurtfull, dreadfull, terrible or affrightful, or otherwise in any violence or violent manner unto us, & here before us in these Glass Receptacles, or otherwise, to appeare out of them here before us, in like serene, faire & decent manner, as shalbe most convenient & necessary for any action, thing or matter, that they are called for to such appearances, & to serve & obey us, & to fulfil & performe our will, desires & Comandments, in all & every severall & particular matters, & things respectively, wherein their Office & Orders are concerned, or whereunto in any wise they properly appertaine; & also to depart from our presence, & obediently & peaceably to retourne to their Orders & Places of residence, when they have performed & fulfilled all our Will and Commandments; And that we shall discharge them for the tyme present, & tyme future; or shall accordingly give them Lycence so do doe, and also to be ready from tyme to type at our call, & at all tymes to appear visibly unto us, & to serve & obey us, & to fulfil all our requests whatsoever we shall comand them, & also to retourne to their Orders in peace, when we shall give them Lycence to depart thereunto, without violence, injury, harme, prejudice or other

mischeife or mischievous matter, to be done unto us or this Place, or to any other person or places whatsoever. Amen.

The Lord bless us & keep us, the Lord make his Face shine upon us, & be gracious unto us: the Lord lift up his Countenance upon us, & give us his Peace.

[4r]

*L:*

O All you Spirits of great power **L: B: S:**<sup>4</sup> unto whome by Orders & Officers, as Messagers of wrath, & Ministers of divine Justice, the Execution of Gods Judgments are committed, & accordingly at his Commandment by you fulfilled, on all sublunar things, Creatures & places whatsoever & wheresoever he shall decree and appoint the same to be inflicted: And otherwise also & againe at sundry & many other tymes, preordinaed you by Orders & Offices to serve & assist the sons of men, living upon Earth, Servants of the most high God, whensoever you shalbe invoked, moved, requested, commanded & constrained thereunto: Now therefore know ye, O all ye Spirits **L: B: S:** that we, Servants of the most high God, reverently here present in his holy feare, being dignified in the holy Trinity, with coelestiall power & authority, given to Man at his Creation, & to his successive posterity & Generations, unto the utmost period of tyme, above & over all Sublunar Spiris, of all degrees, Natures, Orders & Offices, both Ayeriall, Terrestriall & otherwise Elementall, or wandring out of Orders, or Infernall, whether of Light or Darkness, from the superiour to the Inferiour; doe by the Name of your God, & by your Seales & Characters, most firmly & solidly subjecting & bynding you by Orders & Office, both to be divine comand of the Highest & his Servants the Sons of Men, now living on Earth: Wee doe Exorcise, Coniure, Comand, Constraine & move you, O all you spirits **L: B: S:** to subject all Spirits whatsoever, from the Superiour to the Inferiour, that have place & Residence in any, or each, & every of your severall & respective Orders or Mansions, or that shall otherwise under your power, government & Command unto us, & our Invocations, Coniurations & Constringations. And that whensoever & wheresoever we shall at any tyme, & in any place, Conjure, Comand, Constraine, [4v] Call forth & move them, by Names, Orders & Offices, or any or either of them, that then & there, even at that very instant tyme, be inforced, compelled & constrained to move & appeare, in faire & decent forme, & in no wise hurtfull, dreadfull, terrible or affrightfull unto us, or this place, or to any other person or place whatsoever, but in all humility & serenity, visbly to the sight of our Eyes, either in these **G: R:**<sup>5</sup> or any of them, standing

<sup>4</sup> An abbreviation for “Lucifer, Beelzebub, Sathan,” the three chief infernal spirits of the *Liber Officiorum* tradition: the names are cited at length in a later procedure in this collection. It may simply be coincidence that these are also the first, middle and last letters of “Longobardus.”

<sup>5</sup> “Glass Receptacles.”

here before us for that purpose, according to a usuall way of receiving & inclosing Spirits at their appearance. Or otherwise out of them here before us,<sup>6</sup> according as best befitted, or shalbe most beneficall, & convenient for us, in all or any such our Operations & Affaires, as the necessity or occasion thereof shall require. And so shew forth unto us true & visible signs, foregoing their coming & appearance. And to make true & faithfull Answers unto us, & also to reveale, discover & shew forth unto us, the very truth & certainety of all such our proposals, matters & things in question, & to fulfil, perform & accomplish unto us, all those our demands & Requests, as lyeth here before us. And also furthermore, as in the contente of our Invocations, Conjurations & Constringations, shall more fully & at large be declared & expressly rehearsed: speaking plainly unto us, so as that we may both heare & understand them. All which as aforesaid, wee doe powerfully Exorcise, Coniure, Command, Compell, Constraine & move you, O all you Spirits L: B: S: in the Name of your God, & by the Seales of your Orders, preordinately decreed of the most high God, Confirming, Subjecting and binding you by Orders & Offices, into strickt Obedience; [5r] first to the fulfilling of his Divine Will & pleasure, both of his mediate & immediate Commandements & Appointments; And secondly aswell unto the Service, Obedience, & Assistance of hisse servants the Sons of Men, now living on Earth, in your severall & respective Orders & Offices, as to seduce, subvert & seeke to destroy them by your evill Temptations, or any other vile (?), subtil, crafty insinuations & illusions: And by the Cœlestiall power of the most high & holy Trinity, wherewith we are now through divine Grace, dignified, armed & supported, to doe, fulfil, performe & accomplish for & unto us, both now at this tyme present, & also at all other tymes, whensoever we shall move, request & command them thereunto, without delay delusion or disturbance, whereby to surpise or assault our sences with feare & amazements: or in any wise to obstruct or hinder thee effects of these our present Operations, by any subtil Crafte or illusions whatever. &c.:

---

<sup>6</sup> “in all or any ... shall require” was mistakenly written here by copyist eye-skip, but is crossed out.

[5v]

## *An Operation for the obteyning of Treasure Trove;*

*The Key whereof is holden<sup>7</sup> from some principall Spirits, who may be Invocated or called forth by Name, Nature, Degree, Order & Office for that purpose, by the contents of the following Invocation; the foregoing Prayer & Coniuration being observed, to be first used or said; which Rule ought also to be remembred, before Invocation is made, to any Infernall Spirits of powers of Darkness.*

**A Select Invocation,** moving & calling forth some certain Spirits, who by Names are called Sulphur, &c.: and who are said by Nature, Degree, Order & Office, not only to have the keeping & possession of many & severall Treasures or Treasuries, of Gold & Silver, both in Coyne, Plate, Jewells, Bullion, & other goods & Chattells of considerable value, that hath been manufaturized, & in use among the Sons of Men, & said to be corrupted of them. And both heretofore of ancient, & sythence<sup>8</sup> of later tymes, either through Envy or Necessity, or otherwise by chance, purpose or appointment of them concerned, & kept from the knowledge, use & benifit of Posterity. But alsoe doth well know, how otherwise, By what Spirits, any such Treasures or Treasuries shall be kept or possessed, be they of what name, nature, dignity, order & Offices sover, And who also by Office hath power given them, to discharge or dismiss and cast forth, any such Spirits so keeping any such Treasures or Treasuries, and constraine them to deliver them and yield up, & to bring the same wheresoever it shalbe appointed. &c. [6r]

### *The Invocation.*

O all ye Spirits, who have power given you to visit the parts of the Earth, & to execute the Commandments of the highest;<sup>9</sup> and also by divine permission, to appeare unto the Sons of Men, Servants of the most high God, living on Earth, whensoever they shall Invoke & call you forth to visible appearance, to obey them, to serve them, & to be friendly unto them, at such their Calls & Invocations made unto you, & readily forthwith to fulfil & performe all such their Comandments & requests, wherein your Offices are properly & pertinently concerned, or in any wise apperteyning. And accordingly into such their addresses & invocations as are made, & by your offices given & referred unto you, O all ye Spirits of great power in the keeping of hidden Treasures, & also of

<sup>7</sup> An obsolete / archaic inflectional form; the copyist originally wrote “hidden from,” crossed it out, then wrote “holden from some” in above the line.

<sup>8</sup> Possibly an archaic spelling of “since”?

<sup>9</sup> Compare the “Call of the 30 Ayres” in Dee’s *Claves Angelicae*: “[you] are Mightie in the partes of the Erth, and execute the Judgment of the highest:”

detecting, discovering & yielding up the same to the Sons of Men for whose use it was principally & primarily Decreed & ordeyned: Wee doe exorcise, call upon & Coniure you, O all ye Spirits, jointly & severally by Names, Orders & Offices, who are knowne unto the Sons of Men, from the Tradition of their predecessors, by the names of **Sulphur, Chalcos, Anaboth, Sonenel, Barbaros, Gorson (or Gorzon), Everges, Mureril, Vassago, Agares, Baramper, Barbason**, of what nature soever you are, whether wandring Spirits or Ayeriall or Terestriall, or otherwise Elementall or Infernall powers, apperteyning either to Light or darknes or both, in the most true & especiall Name of your God, and by the force, influence, power & virtue thereof, & by all the power both divine, Cœlestiall & Terrestriall, the most high [6v] God hath given both to Angells & to Men, & by your Seals & Characters, most firmly & solidly binding, subjecting and obliging you by Orders & Offices, both to the divine comands of the highest, & his servants the sons of Men, calling forth & moving you thereunto. By all aforesaid we doe againe Exorcise, Call upon, Conjure, Comand & Constrained all you Spirits by Name: **Sulphur, [Calchos,<sup>10</sup>] Anaboth, Sonenel, Barbaros, Gorson (or Gorzon), Everges, Mureril, Vassago, Agares, Baramper, Barbason**, and all other by Office, having power given them to range and visit the Earth, & all parts thereof, and to possess & keepe, not only the naturall Mines of Gold & Silver, but also many other Treasures, both in Coyne, & Plate & Bulloyn, or Jewells of great value, or any other goods or Chattells, that has been the Manufacturisme of Men, & heretofore in use among them, buried in the Earth, or otherwise layd up & hidden, in some very secret place, or places thereon, And so thereby said to be corrupted of them & amongst them,<sup>11</sup> whereby Posterity is denied,<sup>12</sup> the benefit, use, & comfort thereof: Wherefore divine Justice hath given such powers, whether Ayeriall, Terrestriall or otherwise Elementall or Infernall; or other wandering Spirits, both of Light & darkness, & conversant in all Elementall parts & places, Mediums or Messagers, executing the Judgments of the Highest, at his Omnipotent, both mediate & imediate Commandements, and taking vengeance on the Sinns & Offences & causes thereof, acted and comitted by the Auncestors or Precedecessors of the Sons of Men: both heretofore of old, & sithence of late tymes, not only upon them, but alsoe many other successive Generations; even to the utmost period of tyme (as in the minde, Will & pleasure of the allpowerfull, is preordinately Sacred) unless divine Grace & Mercy descendeth [7v] at the humble Supplications, Petitions, & Adresses of his servants the Sons

<sup>10</sup> Omitted in MS.; this has been treated as a slip, as the full list occurs repeatedly and on one other occasion the copyist skipped this name then went back & wrote it in later.

<sup>11</sup> The phrasing here recalls some discussion in the Dee-Kelly Spirit Actions (Actions of 1584.06.26 & 1584.06.30, *T&FR* pp. 180, 188) concerning the “Angels of metals” and the corresponding “wicked spirits”: the former, “have power over Metals, to find them, to gather them together, and to use them [...] [they] give no money coined but the metal”; the latter “can give money coined, in Gold or Silver [...] they have nothing to do with the natural Mines of the Earth, but, with that which is corrupted with man.”

<sup>12</sup> Doubtful. “of” apparently blotted out after this word.

of Men, to their assistance, in obteyning and recovering all such Treasures & Treasuries, soe buried, layd up, or otherwise secretly hidden, either in or upon the Earth, whether of old or of later tymes, for what cause or intent soever the same was buried, hidden or otherwise concealed, & still at this tyme kept from the knowledge, understanding, use, benefit & comfort of Men, Dignifying & giving them full power & authority, both Cœlestiall & Terrestriall, to Conjure, Command, Constraine, Call forth & move you, O all you Spirits forenamed & mentioned by Orders & Offices as aforesaid, both unto visible appearance, & also to serve them, & to obey them, & to fulfil & performe all such their Comandements, whatsoever they shall enjoyne & command you, as according to your Orders & Offices, you are in the Name of the highest & heavenly, Conjured Compelled & Constrained to Obedience. Now therefore know you, O all you Spirits by Name, **Sulphur, Calchos, Anaboth, Sonenel, Barbaros, Gorsan** (or **Gorzon**), **Everges, Mureril, Vassago, Agares, Baramper, Barbasan**, and all other you Spirits, who by Orders & Offices, have power & permission given you, to possess & keepe all such Treasures & Treasuries of Gold & Silver, Coyn, Plate, Bullyon, Jewells, or other Goods and Chattells, heretofore, in frequent & familiar use, & corrupted amongst Men, & at this tyme lyeth buried, hidden or otherwise concealed in some secret place or places, in the Earth, or upon the Earth (as aforesaid), that wee the Servants of the most high God, and humbly bresent here at this tyme, in his holy feare, being assisted, supported, fortified & strengthened, by his all powerfull Name, & being dignifyed by the power of his holy Spirit, with [8r] Cœlestiall & Terrestriall perfection, as to the more supreme and primitive Idea, Angelicall Excellency, Imperiall power, Soveraigne authority and superior parts and participations, Cohering with the sacred Godhead, Angells, Heavens, Elements & Elementall things, surpassing all sublunary Creatures in the Creation, by the virtue & influence whereof, we being invested with reall sufficiency, have power given us thereby, over all Spirits, both Ayeriall, Terrestriall & otherwise Elementall & Infernall, of all Orders & Offices, to serve us & fulfil our Comands & Requests, whensoever we shall move & call them forth, in order thereunto, doe Conjure, Comand, Compell & Constraine; Call forth & move you, O all you Sprites aforesaid, or some one or any or more of you, jointly & severally, to appeare visibly, in faire & decent forme, and in noe wise turbulent, Terrible or Affrightfull, or in any violent manner, or in any wise doeing harme, unto us or this place, or to any other person or places whatsoever (but we say) come you in all serenity, Affability & peace, & appeare unto us in these **G: R:** or in any or all of them set before us, for that purpose or otherwise appeare out of them visibly here before us, to the sight of our Eyes according as it shalbe convenient or best befitting this present Occasion, purpose or matter, & shew forth visible & plainly unto us, a foregoing signe or Test of your appearance; for the which we now Conjure, move & call you forth, to reveale & shew forth plainly unto us, & to Act, Doe & perform for us in

this present Operation & affaire, as we shall propose request & make knowne unto you wheresoever. O all you Spirits by Name, **Sulphur, Calchos,**<sup>13</sup> **Anaboth, Sonenel, Barbaros, Gorsan**<sup>14</sup> (or **Gorzon**), **Everges, Mureril, Vassago, Agares, Barmaper, Barbasan**, hearken you unto these presents, and unto this present Conjunction, Invocation & Constriction, by the [8r] efficacy, virtue, power & force whereof, we doe againe Conjure, Command, Compell, & Constrainede you all, or some one, or any, or more of you Spirits aforesaid, ioyntly & severally, to appeare plainly here before us, in these **G: R:** or otherwise out of them, visibly to the sight of our Eyes, or else that the spirits called **Barbaros, Gorsan, Everges, Mureril & Vassago**, or any one or more of them, or any other Spirit or Spirits, having power given unto them by orders of Offices, or otherwise by divine Justice, pleasure & permission, to possess, deteyne & keepe any Treasures or Treasuries, that are buried & hidden, or in any wise concealed from the knowledge use or benefit of Mankind, or kept from them by any Spirit or Spirits, of what Name, Order, or Office soever they are, of from what cause soever they doe posses & keepe the same, from the use of mankind (as aforesaid) to reveale, discover, shew forth & plainly make appeare unto us the very truth & certainety thereof, and what Spirit & Spirits by name & Orders, doth possess & keepe the same, whereby we may accordingly, Conjure, Compell & Constrainede them, or otherwise by this your assistance to inforce them, quietly peaceably & willingly, without any turbulence or noise, to demit, yield up & bring the same hither unto this place, or unto any other place wheresoever we shall appoint, and heere or there to leave the same, visibly & openly naked unto us, so that we may take & beare the same away for our necessary use, & we doe again yet further by these presente, & the efficacy, power & force thereof, Conjure, Comand, Compell & Constrainede you all you Spirits by name (as aforesaid:) **Sulphur, Calchos, Anaboth, Sonenel, Barbaros, Gorson** (or **Gorzon**), **Everges, [8v] Mureril, Vassago, Agares, Baramper, Barbasan**, or some one, or any, or more of you, ioyntly & severally, to appeare visibly, meekely & peaceably, in desent forme before us, in these **G: R:** or otherwise out of them (as beforesaid) or to cause, compel & constraine a certain spirit to appeare visibly unto us in these **G: R:** or otherwise out of them here before us, in all serenity & peace, & in decent forme (as aforesaid:) who is called **Camret**, & said to be a Duke, or Spirit of great power & strength, & usefull in serving the Sons of Men, by Orders and Office, in these operations & affaires, to reveal, discover, and shew forth & make appeare unto them, the very truth & certainty of any Treasure or Treasuries that lie concealed, buried or hidden in or upon the Earth, And if any Spirit or Spirits, of what Name, Nature, Order or Offices soever they are, doth possess & keepe the same from the knowledge, use & benefit of man, that he the said Spirit called **Camret**, may likewise

<sup>13</sup> The copyist initially skipped this name then wrote it in *sup. lin.*

<sup>14</sup> This variant form of the name occurs often enough that it has been allowed to stand.

Comand, Compell & Constraine the said Spirits or keepers of any such Treasures, to demit, yield up & bring the same away unto such place or places wherfore it shalbe appointed. And we doe also yet further & againe Exorcise, Coniure, Comand, Comell, Constraine & powerfully move you, by the efficacy & force of this our Invocation, & the Cœlestiall power & authority, by divine Grace wherewith wee are dignified, O all you spirits by Name (as aforesaid) **Sulphur, Calchos, Anaboth, Sonenel, Barbaros, Gorson (or Gorzon), Everges, Mureril, Vassago, Agares, Baramper, Barbasan**, that some one, or any more more, or all of you, with all power & force you have, or that is given unto you, at the Will & pleasure of the highest, you doe command compel & constraine, there Spirits who are called by name **Scor** (or [9r] **Scarus**), **Roab, Zaym, Umbra, Gijel**, or some one, or any, or more, or all of them, ioyntly or severally, in generall & particular; who are said by nature, Order or Offices, to demit & cast forth any Spirit or Spirits, that have the keeping of any such Treasures or Treasuries, hidden or buried in the Earth, or otherwise layd up or concealed, & so kept from the knowledge, benefit, use & comfort of the Sons of Men, & who also by Office, hath power to bring, or cause the same to be brought unto any place or places, wheresoever they shalbe appointed to appearse visible, in faire & decent forme unto us, in these **G: R:** or otherwise out of them here before us, & to shew forth plainly unto us, visibly, a foregoing Signe or Test of their appearance, and to reveal the very truth & certainty of all such Treasures or Treasuries, as we shall propose unto them, & request of them, & to bring or cause the same to be brought unto us at any tyme or tymes, & in any such place or places, whensoever & wheresoever we shall then & there command & appoint them. And more specially & more particularly, to discover such Treasures & Treasuries, now by us proposed & in question, lying buried, or being otherwise hidden, as by certain report & credible information we believe & suppose <sup>\*15</sup> in &c.

And also to reveale & make knowne unto us, such Treasures & Treasuries, as are unknwone; & so not in question, until a more full discovery by such your Information, or otherwise, shalbe made or given, of what Treasure soever elsewhere in any wise, or in any place within this Realme of England, so called, hidden or buried, & soe kept or concealed, from the knowledge use & benefit of Mankinde, & to bring or cause the same to be brought unto this place, or to any other [9v] place where we shall appoint. Now then finally know you, O all you Spirits by Name, Order & Office (as aforesaid) **Sulphur, Calchos, Anaboth, Sonenel, Barbaros, Gorsan (or Gorzon), Everges, Mureril, Vassago, Agares, Baramper, Barbasan**, that we doe powerfully & confidently, Conjure, Command, Constraine, Call forth & move you to come away forthwith & immediately

<sup>15</sup> A large asterisk in the text at this point, and a paragraph break. It seems—looking at the context—that here should be interpolated some words describing just *where* the operator believes some treasure to be laid up, buried, hidden, concealed, &c. &c. &c. Similar asterisks and breaks appear on fol. 12r and 13r, which I have replaced with “[location]” in red.

at this one Invocation, without any further illusion or delay, & tarry not, neither defer the tyme of your coming one minute longer, but come presently away, from the place or places of your present residence, wheresoever you are, & appeare you readily, willingly, courteously, affable peaceably, plainly, visibly unto us, in faire & decent forme in these **G: R:** or otherwise out of them here before us; Or else comand, inforce, & send unto us the Spirit called **Camret** or else move & sent imediately at this our Call, some one, or any, or more of these Spiris, by name called **Scor** (or **Scarus**), **Roab**, **Zaym**, **Umbra**, & **Gijel** to appeare visibly unto us, in these **G: R:** or otherwise out of them, and plainly to shew forth unto us, a foregoing signe or Test of their appearance; & to give us true & faithfull Answers, of all such questions, as we shall make demand of, & positively to resolve us the very truth & certainety, of all such Treasures & Treasuries of Gold & Silver, either in Coyne, Plate, Bulloin or Jewells, or any other Goods & Chattells as are hidden buried or concealed in the Earth, or upon the Earth, in any place or places, Country or Countries, by what names soe bee called, or in what part or point of the Compass, or Angle of the Earth soever, bearing from this place, the same shall at this tyme continue in, hidden, buried or concealed, from the knowledge, benefit, use or releife of mankind, whether it be kept by any Spirit or Spirits, of what Name, Nature, Order or Office soever they are; Or by any artificiall or magicall Charme, or by any envious or malignant crafts or subtillties, [10r] either of Elementall Terrestriall or Infernall Spirits, or of any wandring Spirits out of Orders, and by the traditions of Men, as rationally supposed, & so credibly reported unto posterity, & by good testimony thereof is verily believed of us, to be accustomary & usual for all such Treasures so hidden, or by the long continuance of tyme, quite worne out of all knowledge & remembrance of Mankinde, soeremaining in utter oblivion & forgetfulness of how or by what meanes soever else, any such hidden Treasure, is kept, or may be kept by Chance, purpose or appointment, or by nature simply, through mortallity, become wholly unknown to any living person, or soe lyeth concealed from the understanding of posterity; And that by either you, O all you Spirits **Sulphur**, **Chalcos**, **Anaboth**, **Sonenel**, **Barbaros**, **Gorson** (or **Gorzon**), **Everges**, **Mureril**, **Vassago**, **Agares**, **Baramper**, **Barbarson**, or any one, or other, or more of you, ioyntly & severally (as aforesaid) or by the spirit **Camret**, or by all or many or more of these spirits called **Scor** (or **Scarus**), **Roab**, **Zaym**, **Umbra**, **Gijel**, or by whomsoever, or whatsoever spirit or power else, you shall send or cause to be sent, or come unto us, may not only appeare meekely courteously, peaceably, plainly & visibly unto us, and here before us in these **G: R:** or otherwise out of them, & to shew us a preceding Signe thereof (as aforesaid) but also readily, willingly & obediently to serve us, in whatsoever we shall request & Command them, And imediately forthwith at such our command to fly & hast away, unto all or any such place or places, Country or Countries, Towne or Townes, House or Houses, Ground or Grounds, Sellars, Vaults, Caves, Wells, Ponds,

Lakes, or any ruinous place, whatsoever any Treasures are supposed to be hidden buried or otherwise concealed, from the knowledge of Men (as aforesaid) and to dismiss, cast out & discharge & send away, any or all such Spirit or Spirits (if any be there) that shall posses & keepe any [10v] such Treasure or Treasuries, so hidden, buried & Concealed (as aforesaid) And that either, or any, or some one or more of you, O all you Spirits by anem (as aforesaid) doe bring or cause to be brought, either by your selfe or selves, or else that you compel & constraine the spirit or spirits, that doth posses & keepe such hidden Treasure or Treasuries, to bring & bear away the same hither unto this place, &c.: and heere to leave the same with us, & to yield the same up unto us; & to our use, benefit & behoofe, as in our ownly<sup>16</sup> proper possession & claime, & then by virtue & power of our commands accordingly by the said Spirit & Spirits, bearing & bringing away such Treasures or Treasuries unto us, may be dismissed & discharged therefrom, & of us inforced, at our Lycence denounced, & given them to depart away peaceably, in all mildness, meekness & serenity unto their Orders, or place of Residence, otherwise appointed for them. Notwithstanding any thing, matter, cause, craft, subtilty, illusion dispute or other device or pretence to this contrary whatsoever. Finally & againe, we doe by these presents, & by the virtue, power, influence, efficacy & force thereof, Conjure, Comand, Compell, Constraine and move you, O all you Spirits by name called Sulphur, Calchos, Anaboth, Senenel, Barbaros, Gorsan (or Gorzon), Everges, Mureril, Vassago, Agares,<sup>17</sup> Baramper, Barbasan, or any one or more or all of you, ioyntly and severally to appear unto us in this G: R: or otherwise out of them visibly here before us, & to compel & to constraine the Spirit called Camret to come imediately forthwith away accordingly, & visibly unto us (as aforesaid) or else to inforce & send imediately away unto us, any one or more or all of those Spirits called Scor (or Scarus), Raab, Zaym, Umbra, Gajel, to appeare also accordingly & visibly unto as (as aforesaid) without Noyse, Turbulency, Iniury or violence, & in noe way Terrible [11r] or affrightfull to dismay or delude us, but to come or to send any other the Spirits unto us (as aforesaid) and to appeare Obediently, peaceably, quietly, willingly, affably, readily & imediately here before us, in this G: R: or otherwise out of them (as aforesaid) & to shew forth unto us ample, true, serene, affable & reall signs & testimony of your & their coming & appearance, & to serve us in all these our Comands, as here before is mentioned; & not only to discover & bring or beare away hither unto us, or so any other place wheresoever we shall appoint, all such Treasures and Treasuries, as hath been at any tyme or tymes heretofore, buried, or hidden by our Auncestors, or Mankind then lving on Earth, and at this tyme possessed or kept, by any Spirit or Sprits of what Element, Angle, Mansion, Order, Office, Name or nature soever, from the knowledge use &

<sup>16</sup> "owne &" originally written, the '&' cancelled and '-ly' written in *sup. lin.*

<sup>17</sup> "Algares" in MS., but the orthography has been consistent up to this point.

benefit of Posterity of Mankinde, now living on Earth, but to leave the same here present with us, or at any other such place, as we shall name & appoint, openly, nakedly, barely, plainly & visibly, to the sight of our Eyes, and so as that we may take, possess & carry away the same, as properly & of right due & belonging unto us, & of our owne proper Goods & Chattells, both of purchase & Inheritance, And such Spirit or Spirits as possessed & kept, or that shall bring the same hither & unto us, & that we shall have it in our full free assured & certain custody & possession, then afterwards imediately dismissed, discharged & sent away to their Orders or other places of abode appointed them, they not daring or presuming to retourne, or offer to make any retourne to it againe, either to carry the same away from us, or by any deceipt or illusion, or other fraudulence seemingly to convert the same into any other vile or base matter, thing, forme or Idea, otherwise then what it really is, as can be made appeare to the contrary, and also to reaveale, discover, plainly shew forth, & truly to make knowne, the very certain truth of [11v] all such Treasures & Treasuries, that are layd up or hidden, either in the Earth, Caves, Sellers, Vaults, House, Ground, Pond, Lake, Well or old ruined Castle, monasterry, ruinous Walls, or any other secret place whatsoever & whensoever, in any Angle, Country, Citty, Towne, or Village, within this Realme or Kingdome of England, place, wherein we are now heere present, that are not possessed, or kept by any Spirit or Spirits or otherwise given them in Charge to deny & deteyne from the use & benefit of mankind, by any person or persons heretofore living on Earth, thay you or some or any or more of you, O all you Spirits before named, may after a tyme & full discovery thereof is made knowne unto us, bring or cause to be brought hither unto us in this place &c.: all such Treasures & Treasuries, & to leave the same with us: And soe you Spirit or Spirits bringing or causing the same to be brought or conveyed hither to give it up unto us, & then imediately to depart peaceably & quietly away, so as that we may take, enjoy, dispose & convert the same unto our proper use & Benefit, as of right belonging & apperteyning unto us, without obteyning the similitude thereof in any wise, but to lay & leave the same barely open in its natural forme & substance, as it was before the same was hidden, & as it is, or still may be & continues, notwithstanding also the Craft or subtilty of any other Spirits shall seemingly transmute the same, or otherwise oppose or deceive us: Or else, O all ye Spirits, or some one, or any, or more of you, as before we have called by name, we doe by these presents, & by the virtue power & efficacy thereof; Conjure, Comand, Comepll & Constraine you to appeare (as aforesaid) visibly unto us, either in these **G: R:** or otherwise out of them here before us, & to make knowne apparently to shew forth the very truth & certainly, of all such hidden Treasures & Treasuries, as we shall have in question, or make demand of, or otherwise request or desire you, and to make [12r] true & faithfull Answers, & give possitive Resolves thereof unto us, & to informe, instruct & rightly direct us, how by all best, easiest, readiest & most assured

waies or meanes, that can be combined, found out or used, we may discover, finde out & visibly see, & so perceive the same, as that by our industrious labour and endeavours in our pursuit thereof, or by any other attempts, Wee shall make in pursuance thereof, wee may both finde out, obtaine & take & carry away the same, wheresoever we shall please, & possess enioy & dispose thereof at our pleasure, as our owne proper goode of right belonging unto us, And more especially & particular, all those, or any such Treasures or Treasuries, as for certain is reported, & as we are truly informed (& as we doe, or may at least thereby verely beleive to be true) that lyeth buried or otherwise hidden in [location],

to shew forth & make appeare, the very truth & certainty thereof unto us, & either to bringe, or cause to be the same to be brought hither to this place, or wheresoever else we shall appoint: And then such Spirit or Spirits, who shall bring & convey the same, according as we doe comand & appoint, may be imediately after they have layd downe & left the same in place (accordingly as is appointed) dismissed discharged & compelled to depart away from it, & leaving the same barely & openly visibly unto us & so as that we may take & beare away the same, & also dispose thereof at pleasure, to our use & benifitt, or else to informe & rightly direct us, how by all the best, easiest, & most assured waies, that can be conveniently and commodiously contrived & used, to finde out, obteyne, seize & carry away the same, & enjoy it to our use & benefit: All which these our demands & requests as we have now made, & as herein is conteyned & specified, we doe by there presents & by vertue, power & efficacy thereof, & in the name of the most high Omnipotent Lord God of Hosts, which all both Cœlestiall, Terrestriall, [12v] Elementall, Infernall, & all other powers with feare & trembling, most reverently serve honor & obey, And by every & each of your severall & respective Seales & Characters,<sup>18</sup> most firmly & solidly binding, subjecting & obliging you, by Orders & Offices, both to the divine command of the highest, & his servants the sons of Men, calling forth & moving you thereunto, Conjure, Command, Compell, Constraine, & move you, or some one, or any, or more of you, O all you Spirits by name called Sulphur, Calchos, Anaboth, Sonenel, Barbaros, Gorsan (or Gorzon), Everges, Mureril, Vassago, Agares, Baramper, Babasan, & likewise Scor (or Scarus), Roal, Zaym, Umbra,<sup>19</sup> Gijel, or any of them, to move & appeare, in faire & decent forme, visibly here before us, either in these **G: R:** or otherwise out of them, as the necessity & conveniency, of these our present occasions & affaires & as your service friendship & assistance, at these our Calls & comands enjoyned you therein, shall properly require: And appeare you or some one or more of you, O all you Spirits by name (as aforesaid) or send or cause to come and appeare visibly unto us,

<sup>18</sup> The “Seales & Characters” of the spirits cited in this conjuration were not copied by Ashmole (it is unclear whether or not they were in his source text; there are references in one of the later texts in this portion of the MS. suggesting that characters were in the copy-text for that, but not copied). Characters for **Vassago** and **Agares** appear elsewhere in this collection.

<sup>19</sup> “Umbre” in MS.

some one or more Spirit or Spirits, who by Orders & Office are alike, also qualified, readily & willingly to serve & assist us herein: Move (we say) & come imediately away, meekely, obediently & peaceably & quietly, without Noyse, or in any broken & turbulent manner, or in any wise affrightfull terrible or dreadfull, to assault or surprise our Sences or animall Spirits with fear or amazements, or doing any damage harme injury or prejudice to us or to this place, or to any other places or persons whatsoever; but in all reverence, obedience & humility to appeare, & make us true & perfect Answers, to all what we shall aske & demand, And effectually to fulfil & performe whatsoever we shall command, flying with hast away directly unto such place & places wheresoever we shall send, & imediately with as much hast, to retourne back againe to this place, or with as much speede as conveniently, can possibly afford or admit [13r] and to bring, or cause to be brought away hither to this place, all such Treasures or Treasuries, as are hidden or buried in the Earth, or otherwise layd & kept, from the knowledge use & benefit of mankind (as by certain report & credible information, we supposed & believed to lye hidden buried or otherwise concealed, in [location].

And also any other such Treasures or Treasuries, as lye buried or hidden in the Earth, or otherwise in what place soever it is, not certainly knowne of us, & therefore not of us now simply proposed, singly mentioned, or had in particular question: Now then O all yee Spirits as before are mentioned or named, & all others not named, more then by Orders and Office proper; Move, come away, appeare & plainly shew forth, make knowne &reveale unto us, the very truth of all whatsoever we have hereby (as before is rehearsed) requested & demanded. And we doe by these presents and the power thereof, moreover Conjure, Compell & Constraine you, O all you Spirits by Name, Order & Office (as before specified) in generall & particular, ioyntly & severally, every & each one & respectively, to serve & assist us herein, & effectually to fulfil & performe, all our Comandements to the very utmost; without further Apologie, excuse, pretence, hinderance, tarrying, delay, delusion, deceipt, subtlety, craft, disguise, interruption, false motions, disturbance, feare, fighte, amazements by any dreadfull or terrie assault, or any other illusions whatsoever, &c.

[13v]

## *A General Invocation, Conjuration or Constringation,*

*moving and calling forth any particular Ayerall, Terrestrial, or other Elementall or Infernall, or other wandering Spirit or Spirits, of what Name, Order, Office, Angle, Mansion, Nature, Degree or power whatsoever they are or may be of, or in any wise properly apperteyning or belonging unto; which are to be mentioned in the following Invocation, where the Letter N. is marked, as being conveniently refered thereunto, & so placed therein accordingly.<sup>20</sup>*

O you Spirit or Spirituall power, who is knowne of us from the Tradition of our Auncesters, & called by the Name **N:** of what nature, Order, Office, Angle, Mansion or other places of aboade wheresoever you are, or may be of, or doe reside, frequent, or in any wise properly if differently appertaine or belong unto, or whether Elementall or Infernall, or other wandering Spirit or power, either of Light or darkness, having power given you to visit the Earth, & to execute the Comandments of the highest: and also by divine permission plainly & visibly & in a faire & decent forme to appeare unto the Sons of Men, Servants of the most high God living on Earth, whensoever you shalbe of them Invocated, Commanded, called forth, moved, & therby Conjured, & constrained thereunto, to obey them, to serve them, & to be friendly unto them, & readily forthwith to fulfil & performe all such their comands and requests which they shall make; wherein by nature Office order, play or power, you may in any wise be concerned or serviceable. Know therefore O yee Spirit called by the Name **N:** (as aforesaid) that we the Servants of the most high God, & reverently here present in his holy feare, doe Coniure, Command, Constraine, move & call you forth to visible Appearance, in the name of the most high **Madzilodarp<sup>21</sup>** and by the vertue and power of these his glorious, great, mighty & sacred Names, **Tetragrammaton, Iehovah, Adonay, Zebaoth, Iah, Saday, Agla, El, Elohim, Alpha & Omega,** And who said, let us make [14r] Man, according to our Image & Similitude, & let him beare rule over the worke of our hands, & have soveraigne power & command over all Sublunar Spirits, both Ayerall, Terrestrial & otherwise Elemetnall,

<sup>20</sup> This appears to be an adaptation of a conjuration which appears in the final section of S4, “The Magick and Magicall Elements of the Seven Days of the Week &c. &c.” (specifically fol. 143v-146v), which in turn is an adaptation of the *Heptameron* of pseudo-Abano, with some rearrangements and much additional verbiage added. Parts of it are thus traceable to the *Vinculum Spirituum* or *Vinculum Salomonis*. ‘Constringation’ is an obsolete form of ‘constraint.’

<sup>21</sup> This name appears in the 16<sup>th</sup> of Dee’s *Claves Angelicæ* and is glossed “in the God of stretch furth and Conquere.” It is unclear if the author of this conjuration worked out that it was a name of God by cross-referencing the Angelic and English text in *T&FR* (non-straightforward, but certainly possible), made a lucky guess, or actually read the *Claves Angelicæ* manuscript or Ashmole’s copy (also possible, if the author was a friend or associate of Ashmole: this would push the *terminus a quo* into the 1670s).

& other wandring Spirits & Infernall Spirits, of all Orders & offices whatsoever, both of Light & darkness, & by your seale & Character, most firmly & solidly binding, subiecting & obliging you by Order & Office, both to the divine Command of the Highest, & his Servants the sons of Men, calling forth & moving you thereunto. And we doe also further Coniure, Compell, Comand, Constraine, Call forth & move you, by nature, Degree, Order & Office, unto what Hierarchy Mansion or Place of residence whatsoever you appertaine or belong unto, or wheresoever else you shall at this present be, either wandring out of Orders, or otherwise, O you Spirit, who is called **N:** to visible Appearance; Move therefore O you Spirit **N:** Come away and appeare you visible unto us, in faire & desent forme in these **G: R:** or otherwise out of the same, in like forme, visibly here before us, not in any wise terrible or affrightfull unto us, to amze or surprise us, or in any violent or turbulent manner, hurtfull to us or this place, or to any other person or place whatsoever, but come & appeare yee in all serenity, peace & mildness, shewing forth likewise unto us, a visible signe or test foregoing your appearance, and by the vertue, power, efficacy & influence of those great, might and sacred names of the most high God, which Adam heard & spake, and by the Name **Agla**, which Lott heard & was saved with his family, and By the Name of **Gin**,<sup>22</sup> which Noah heard & spake, after he was delivered from the Flood, And by the Names which Abraham heard & did know God, & by the name **Ioth**, which Jacob heard & was delivered from the hand of his brother Esau. And by the Name **Tetragrammaton**, which he heard of the Angell striving with him, And by the Name **Anapheketon**, which Aron heard and speaking was made wise, And by the Name **Zebieth**, which Moses named, & the water of Ægypt was turned into blood. And by the [14v] Name **Escherie Oriston**, which Moses named & all the Rivers belched out Froggs, & they went into the Egyptians Houses, destroying all things, And by the Name **Adonay**, which Moses named, & there were Locusts appeared upon the Land of the Egpiitians, & eate up all that which was remaining, And by the Name **Elion** which Moses named, & there was such a Storme of Haile, as was not from the beginning of the World. And by the Name **Primeumaton**, & the most wonderfull power & efficacy thereof, which Moses named, & the Earth opened her mouth, & swallowed up Corah, Dathan & Abiram, & all their Generation & People, And by the Name that Moses heard from the midst of the burning Bush, & was astonished, And by the Name that the Israelites heard upon the Mount Sina, & they dyed for feare, And by the name **Burne**, by the vertue & power whereof the Sea parted in sundere, And by the efficacy of that Name, at the rehearsing whereof the Waters were divided, And by the mighty power of that great Name, and the speaking whereof the Stones burst & relented. And by the name **Schemes Amathia**, which Joshua named, & the Sun staied

<sup>22</sup> Appears as *Gyn* in “The Worke of Salomon the Wise Called his Clavicle” (Sloane MS. 3847 fol. 14r), *Genery* in the *Vinculum Spirituum* in Clm 849 (see Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*).

his course. And by the Name **Alpha & Omega**, which Daniel named & destroyed Bell & the dragon, And by the Name **Emanuel** which the three Children, Shadrach, Mesack & Abednego sang in the midst of the burning fiery furnace, & were relieved. And by the vertue & power of those Names, whereby Solomon called forth, constrained, bound, inclosed or shut up Spirits, **Elbrach, Ebanber, Agla, Goth, Ioth, Othie, Venoch, Nabrach**, And by the Imperiall Throne, & by the Majesty & Diety of the Almighty, Everlasting & true God of Hosts; Wee doe call upon you, O you Spirit who is called **N:** And being dignified by the power of the holy Spirit, & strengthened by his all powerfull arms, & being thereby supported with his Cœlestiall & divine assistance, do Conjure, Comand, Constraine, Call forth & move you O you Spirit **N:** to visible appearance. Move therefore & appeare you, & show yourself visibly and affably in faire & decent forme, in these **G: R:** or otherwise out of the same here before us, as may be most convenien & necessary, for this our purpose, in these present Operations & affairs, & come yee in all serenity, mildness, peace & friendship, & in no wise horrible or hurtfull to us or to this place, or to any other place or person whatsoever, & make true & faithfull answers unto all such, as those our demands & [15r] requests, as lyeth here before us, ready to be proposed, & made knowne unto you, & likewise readily & willingly fulfil & performe all such our other Commandments & desires, as we shall yet further will & enjoynе you, wherein your Orders & Office, is in any wise properly apperteyning & concerned. Now therefore O you Spirit **N:** prepare yee & be not obstinate, refractory or pertinacious, but come yee away forthwith & imediately from your Orders, or from what Mansion, Element, Angle, part or place of residence, or else wheresoever you are in, or at this present shall, or may, either chancely or otherwise by divine or superior command or appointment happen to be, & depart ye not from our presence & commands, until ye have fully & effectually fulfilled our desires, in all fidelity, reallity & truth, without any delay, fraude, guile, or illusion whatsoever. Now wherefore hearken unto our voice, O ye Spirit **N:** & be not obstinate, refractory or disobedient, Know yee that wee the servants of the most high God, being dignified, fortified & supported assisted & encouraged, by his omnipotent, divine & Cœlestiall power, & by the vertue, force, influence & efficacy thereof; & by this his most high, great, & mighty Name **Iehovah, Tetragrammaton**, who saith & it is done; whome all Creatures both Cœlestiall, Elementall & Infernall, with feare & reverence doth most humbly serve, honor & obey, & wherein all the world was formed, which being heard the Elements Thunder, the Air is shaken, the Sea goes back, the Fire is quenched, the Earth trembleth, & al the heavenly, earthly & infernall Hosts do tremble & are troubled; Doe Conjure, Comand, Compell, Constraine, Call forth, & move you to visible appearance, wherefore O you Spirit **N:** now presently & without any further tarrying, illusion, hinderance or delay, move you imediately, even at this very instant Call, make hast, & wheresoever you are, come away

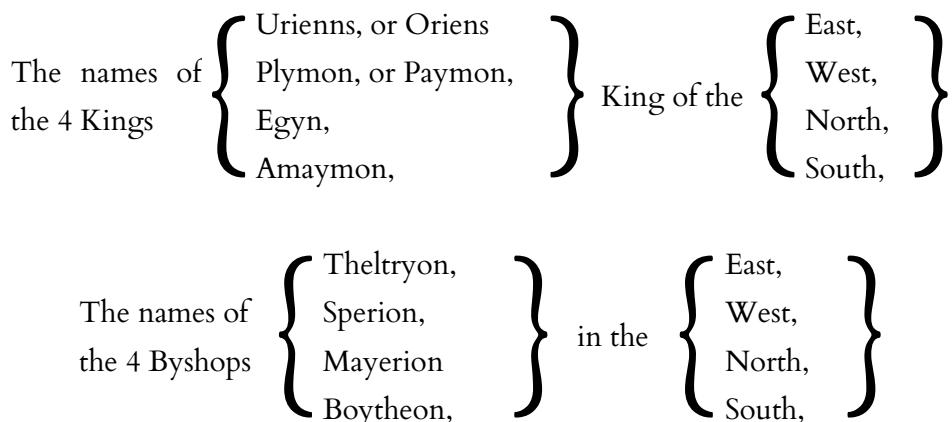
& appeare ye visibly, affably, courteously & peaceably in faire & decent forme, in these **G: R:** or otherwise out of them, as may be most convenient & befitting this our present action, occasion, operation & affaire, plainly here before us, & to shew forth unto us a true & visible signe, forgoing your coming & appearance; And come yee in all serenity, quietness [15v] and friendship, without noyse or turbulence, or in any violent manner, hurtfull to us or this place, or to any other place or person whatsoever, or otherwise, either to assault, surprise or amaze us, either in Spirit or bodily sences, with feare astonishment or other dreadfull or terrible visions, or false motions & appearances, in any wise to affright, obstruct or delude us, & make us rationall, true & faithfull answers, speaking so plainly unto us, as that we may perfectly heare & understand you, readily & willingly filfulling all our demands & requests, & accomplishing all such our desires, & assisting us in these & all others our operations & affairs, in any wise, relating to your nature, degree, Order & Office, & therein to perform unto us, not only what we have to propose, but also in whatsoever else we shall further enjoyne or comand you. Move therefore & come away, in the name of the Omnipotent, Everliving & true God, **Helioren**, & appeare yee as aforesaid, visible here before us, in these Names, **Aye Saraye**, **Aye Saraye**, **Aye Saraye**, make hast & defer not your coming, in & through these Names **Eloye**, **Archima Rabur**, and obey your Master who is called **Octinomos**. Now then finally know yee, O you Spirit N: that we being dignified by Cœlestiall power, doe by the Contente of this our great & royall Invocation (as aforesaid) & by the vertue, power, Influence & efficacy thereof, Conjure, Command, Compell, Constraine, Call forth & move you to visible appearance, imediately at this very minute. Give ye now therefore present audience, attendance and obedience thereunto, & come away with speede, & appeare ye visibly unto the sight of our Eyes, in faire & decent forme, in these **G: R:** or otherwise thereout here before us, & shew forth unto us a visible signe foregoing your Appearance, persisting herein, to the full and effectuall accomplishment & fulfilling of all our demands & inquests, that we have or shall make unto you, even to the very utmost (as we have before said) without further Apology, excuse, pretence, hinderance, tarrying, delay, delusion, deceipt, subtilty, Craft, disguise, interruption, false motion, disturbance, feare, fright, amazement, by any dreadfull or terrible assault or surprisall, or any other Illusion whatsoever, &c.

[It is possible that the “Longobardus” collection ended here and that the following two items were copied by Ashmole from one or two other, unrelated, MSS.: certainly they are significantly different in style from both the preceding texts and each other.]

[16r] *An excellent & approved Experiment,*

to cause a Theife to come againe with the Goods he hath stolen; & to cause any Fugitive to retourne again. Proved.<sup>23</sup>

There are 4 Kings which reign in the 4 parts of the World, that is East, West, North & South; under which 4 Kings are 4 Spirits (as it were byshops) the power of the said 4 Kings, are in the 4 Elements, that is, Fire, Air, Earth & Water; & these Spirits have power to bring back a Theife , Fugitive or Runaway, wheresoever the Exorcist pleaseth, at the reading of the Experiment:



Here beginneth the true Method of this Experiment as followeth:

Observe when the Moon is in the Encrease, not Combust, & the Aier serene & Still, on a Munday or Wednesday; at the Sun rising enter the sacred place, & approach the Altar, & there humbly upon thy Knees Ejaculate<sup>24</sup> to God Almighty, humbly confessing thy manifold Transgressions, craving Pardon & Absolution for the same. And let thus be thy Care, at the least once [16v] or twice a weeke, on Mundayes and Wednesdaies as aforesaid according to your discretion. At the end whereof you shall say the prayer following, & after that as followeth in Order. Then put of your Habit or Vestment, & put out your Tapers, & then make a plate of Lead in manner & forme as followeth, & write the Names of the foure Spirits with their Characters in the extremity of each square thereof (vizt) **Theltryon** on the East, **Sperion** on the West, **Mayerion** on the North, **Boytheon** on the South, and then round about under them the name of the Goods stolen, & the owners name thereof, or the Fugitive or Runaways name, & in the midest of the said plate write this name: **Sheho:**<sup>25</sup> then make 4 little Plates, & write thereon severally, the name of each Spirit as aforesaid by himself, with his Character; & when you have rightly

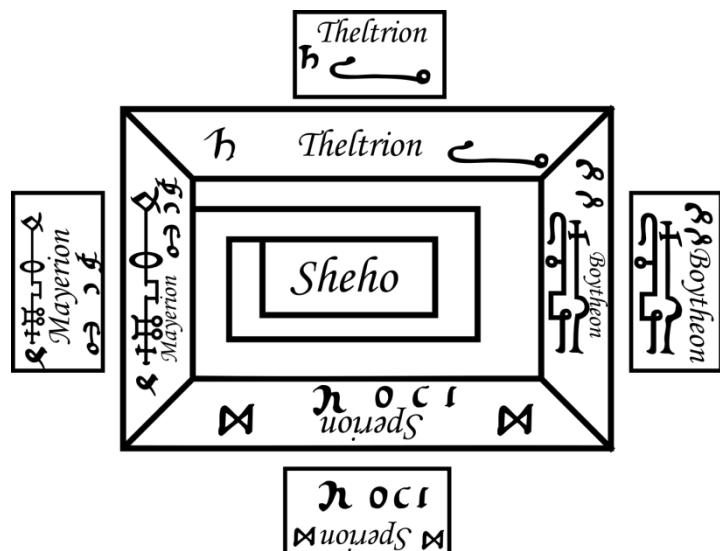
<sup>23</sup> An earlier (late 16<sup>th</sup>-century) version of this process occurs in V.b. 26 pp. 67-69, citing the same four “Bishops” with very similar characters and the same circle design.

<sup>24</sup> This word is being used in a largely obsolete sense, referring to prayers spoken or declaimed out loud.

<sup>25</sup> “Satan” in the corresponding place in V.b. 26 and other earlier versions of this process.

prepared & fitted these things ready, goe to a Wood or some private place unfrequented, & make (or have in readiness) the following Circle: & then at a little distance, with bended knees & good devotion, say the prayer following, being the same before mentioned, to be said at the Altar after publique Confession and Ejaculation, the Rules followeth after the Plate & Circle:<sup>26</sup>

[17r] *The five plates of h*



(*This is also called the Seale: which is mentioned in the last Paragraph to be put into the Box & burnt with it.*)



<sup>26</sup> At the bottom of the text appears a single line of indecipherable characters.

[17v]

### *The Prayer*

O Almighty Jehovah, O Tetragrammaton, O Messias, O Sother, Emanuel, Alpha & Omega, Father Son & holy Ghost, there in persons & one God in Trinity & Unity, Wee doe beseech this for the Love thou bearest to all Mankind; heare us & grant us our requests for the bowells<sup>27</sup> of thy mercies sake heare us, for thy bitter passions sake heare us, for all the Charitable desires that ever thou hadst to Mankinde heare us & grant us our requeste. First forgive us our sins good Lord, whatsoever we have committed by thought word or deede, since we came into this miserable world, unto this present houre, & ever hereafter. Grand O Lord, that I may have from thee the power of thy holy Spirit, to Call, to Compell, to Constraine & Comand, all Spirits both Aeriall, Terrestriall & Infernall, that they with all readiness & submission yield due obedience to my Coniuration, And that they may be by me compelled to fulfil my will & desires, thatsoeuer I shall command them, according to thy heavenly will & gracious permission at all tymes & in all places & in all daies & hours, & that I may force them with all meekness humility & expedition, readily & willingly to performe & fulfil whatsoever I shall command them to doe, without fraude or delay, & more especially there 4 spirits **Theltrion, Sperion, Mayerion & Boytheon**, & that I may constraine them to attend on any Man or woman, that hath stolen any manner of Goods of Chattells, that they may cause the same to be brought againe, & any Runaway or Fugitive to retourne againe. this grant O heavenly God, for Ihesus Christ his sake, to whome with thee & the holy ghost, be all honor praise & glory, from this tyme forth, & for *<illegible>*<sup>28</sup> Amen.

Then rise upon thy feete & enter the Circle, & turne your face to the East, & with good confidence Courage & Resolution say the Coniuration following.

[18r] O yee Spirits & Divells, **Sathan, Lucifer, Belzebub & Dansiation**; I conjure you all by your powers & strengths you are permitted to have by Almighty God the Father, the Son & the Holy Ghost, three persons & one God, in Trinity & Unity, That you inforce these 4 Kings of the 4 parts of the World, that is **Uriens** or **Oriens** King of the East, **Paymon** King of the West, **Amaymon** King of the South, & **Egin** King of the North, I conjure & potently call upon you, and Command all you spirits & divells **Lucifer, Sathan, Belzebub & Dansiation, Uriens or Oriens, Paymon, Amaymon & Egin**, by the love, power, strength & glory of the Omnipotent & ever-living<sup>29</sup> God, & by all that ever God made in heaven in hell, Fire, Air, Earth & Water, & in all other places, And by the Angells, Archangells, Thrones, Dominations, Principallities, Potestates, Virtues,

<sup>27</sup> In the metaphorical sense of “depths.” Probably.

<sup>28</sup> Rankine reads “all time” which makes sense in context, but is not consistent with what is visible in the (admittedly crappy) scans I’m using; the illegible word or words appear to begin “end”

<sup>29</sup> “lasting” struck out, “living” written in *sup. lin.*

Cherubims & Seraphims, and by all the Orders of the Angells, & by all the Saints of God, & by our Lord Jeshus Christ, and by all the holy & blessed Company of Heaven, which sing continually Holy Holy Holy Lord God of Sabaoth, Heaven & Earth is full of thy glorious Majesty, That all you may compel & constraine with all the force you have, these 4 Spirits, **Theltrion, Sperion, Mayerion & Boytheon**, wheresoever they be, in Fire, Water, Ayer, Earth or Hell, or being bound to any man, that they nor none of them, doe never rest in their places, but obey my Will & commandements in every respect both nights & days, hours & tymes, And I conjure all you Spirits aforesaid in & by all the holy great & glorious names of God, & of our Lord Jesus Christ, spoken of in all Conjurations, Adjurations & Constringations, in any Tongue, Speech or Language whatsoever, That you all & every one of you, joynly & severally, doe compel, constraine & comand the 4 Spirits **Theltrion, Sperion, Mayerion & Boytheon**<sup>30</sup> to attend [18v] on my Calls, Conjurations, Adjurations & Constraingations, in & for the fullfilling & accomplishing of my will & desires, for the obteyning of all Thefte & Theives, Fugitives & Runawaies, Goods, Chattells, Money or things stolen or strayed or Runaway, or conveyed from any man woman or child, be they moveable or immoveable Goods, Silver, what or whatsoever thing it be, that is ordained by God for Man, the same may be brought again, & for bringing back again of Fugitives or Runaways, wheresoever they be gon, run or ridden, & this I conjure, adjure, command & compel all you Spirits or divells, **Sathan, Lucifer, Belzebub, Dansiation, Uriens**<sup>31</sup> or **Oriens, Paymon, Amaymon & Egin**, by Jesus Christ the Son of God, and by his bitter pains & passion that he suffered for the redemption of Mankind, To whome with the Father & the Son & Holy Ghost, be all honor & glory for ever & ever, Amen.

After which you shall reade the Coniuration following, with good Courage & Confidence.<sup>32</sup>

O yee Spirits **Theltrion, Sperion, Mayerion & Boytheon**, whose names are here written, I exorcise, Conjure, binde, command, & constraine you, by the most holy, true, just, powerfull, Mercifull, omnipotent & ever living God, & by his great excellent, efficacious & ineffable name Jehovah, wherein the Patriarchs & Prophets have called upon him, & he hath helped them & made appeare the arme & power of his strength into them admirable, even beyond all humaine expectation, And in the name & by the Glory & dignity, of our Lord & Saviour Jhesus Christ, who sitteth at the right hand of the Father, making intercession for us whose Saints we are, & through whose goodness & mercy hath authority & comand over all Spirits, both Aireall, Terrestriall, & Infernall. Wherfore know all you Spirits [19r] Theltrion in the East, Sperion in the West,

<sup>30</sup> MS. *Boytheon*.

<sup>31</sup> MS. *Urienus*.

<sup>32</sup> The Latin conjuration in the V.b. 26 version of this process has a lot of the same citations, but is shorter.

Mayerion in the North & Boytheon in the South, That I potently and strongly command & conjure you, in & by all the holy Names of God, & of our lord Jhseus Christ, **El, Ya, Saday, Elohim, Escherie, Agla, On, Tetragrammaton, Sabaoth, Adonay, Elion, Elyezer, Anaispta, Messias, Sother, Emanuell, Alpha & Omega**, and by all the other names & Attributes, that are, or can be said of God, & of our Lord Jhesus Christ, and by the most ineffable, Cœlestiall and unspeakable vertues thereof, And by all the Prophets, Patriarchs, Disciples, Apostles, Saints, Martyrs, Inocents & Elect of God, And by the 4 Evangelists, Saints Mathew, Mark, Luke & John, & by their vertues & powers, And by the Angells, Archangells, Thrones, Dominations, Principalities, Potestates, Vertues, Cherubim & Seraphim, & by all the Orders of them, & by their vertues & powers, & by Heaven & by Earth, by the ☽ & by the ☽ & Stars & by the Cristall Sea, & by all their Vertues & powers I call upon you that you give audience & attendance to this my potent & powerfull Coniuration & Call, And give obedience to my Comand & to the words of my mouth, & that you doe fully & effectually performe & fulfil my will & desire, in all these things which I shall request & demand of you, without hurt or damage, to me or any that appertaineth to me, either bodily or ghostly. Also I coniure you by your Kings whoe you are bound to obey, & by the Chaines of Solomon, & by your Seals & Characters, firmly binding, & virtues & powers thereof,<sup>33</sup> And by the vertues & powers of all Cœlestiall, [19v] Terrestriall & Infernall Creatures, I doe further & againe Exoricse, Adjure, command, binde & constraine you Spirits, **Theltrion, Sperion, Mayerion & Boytheon**, by the virtue & power of this potent, strong & efficacious Conjuration aforesaid and by all the royll words & sentences therein contained, that wheresoever you be, either in fire or water, Aire or Earth, or being bound to any one, you forthwith give your present attendance, hereunto, willingly, peaceably & without any fraud, hinderance or tarrying, & come from all parts & places both remote & adjacent, & hearken unto my charge & request, which I shall straitly & stricktly charge & command all yee Spirits **Theltrion** in the East, **Sperion** in the West, **Mayerion** in the North & **Boytheon** in the South, the yee go into the place where [*heere you are to make knowne your will & desire & what you would have effected*] and that you enforce them, & let them take no rest, day nor night, sleeping or waking, standing nor going, working nor playing, at home nor abroad, nor in any place or action whatsoever, neither in riding, running, nor sitting still, but that they may be continually tormented or troubled in their witte, Limbs, sinews & bones, And that you be continually crimping & creeping upon them & about them, until he doe ‡‡ & let every thing herein conteyned be by you, or some one of you, joynly & severally ratified, confirmed & performed, according as it is here written on this plate of Lead, the which I bury in a place, & so leave it, as my charge & demand, signifying what I would you should doe for me, it being a iust and true matter, & which I charge and

<sup>33</sup> “and by the virtues & powers thereof” repeated, then crossed out.

[20r] constraine you to doe forthwith at my putting this plate of Leade into the Earth, & every one of your Names & Seales or Characters, joyntly & severally here annexed, the which you are bound to obey, Wherfore prepare yee & fulfil all these things as I have here commanded you, & written on this Plate of Lead, & effectually performe them by signes & testimonies, as you will answer the contrary to him, who shall come to iudge the quick & the dead & the world by Fire, & so the peace of God by between you & us, in the name of the Father, Son & holy Ghost Amen.

Then bury the Plate in the Earth, putting every Spirit in his place or quarter, the great Plate in the middle, & each little plate on each quarter thereof, according to his respective name & place, & you shall cover them close from Sun & Winde, & the worke will not faile, for within a short or convenient space after, your desires wilbe effected. *Probatum est.*<sup>34</sup>

*A Constraint for a Theife or Theives,  
belonging to these five Plates before mentioned; that if he  
will not bring the Goods or or Theefe to the Owner, &c.*



*The Plate of Lead.*<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Lat., “[it] is proved.”

<sup>35</sup> The use of inscribed lead curse tablets (called *defixiones*) has precedents going back into classical antiquity. A collection of such tablets specifically aimed at recovering stolen goods, dated 2<sup>nd</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> cent. c.e., were discovered ca. 1980 in the temple of Sul-Minerva in Bath.

Since the figure of the plate was plausibly copied from a MS. with the text & rubric of the spell rather than from an actual inscribed tablet, it is unclear whether “John Rudd” was the name of the scribe or redactor, an actual client for whom such a plate had been made by a cunning-man, or a name selected or made up for the sake of an example. A “J. Rudd” was reportedly one of the group who in the 1670s / 80s met to attempt to contact certain Angels mentioned in *T&FR*, whose records are extant as BL Sloane MSS. 3624–28, and was possibly the original of the “Dr. Rudd” to whom certain MS. works on magic and related subjects in the Harleian collection (BL Harley MSS. 6479–86, internally dated 1712–14) were attributed by their scribe.

You must make a Plate of Lead in an Ovall forme, & fit it for a Box, & the Box must be black within & without, & you must write on the Plate as you see in this figure, then draw the picture of a\* naked man on parchment, & make it big enough to writeon the brest & belly, Theife or Theives; Come to this place:

[[\*T]]his must be pasted on the back side of  
[[t]]he Plate you write the names of the Goods on.<sup>36</sup>

[20v] O all ye Spirits **Theltrion, Sperion, Boytheon & Myerion**, & inforce the Theife or Theives wheresoever they be, that hath robbed or stolen such things or goods from (N) in such a place.

Then say as followeth:

Almighty God, as thou knowest this is sinn, & contrary to thy Laws & commandments, grant what I heer shall desire.

Thou Theif or Theives, whatsoever & whosoever thou or you be, that have stolen those things or lynnin, or whatsoever it be, from (N) in such a place, at such a tyme; contrary to the Comandments of the Almighty God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, whatsoever thou be, I charge you Spirits **Theltrion, Sperion, Mayerion & Boytheon**<sup>37</sup> ruling in the 4 quartrs of the world, to inforce the Theife or Theives within an howre to retourne with the Goods, or confess the same, that he or they may be forgiven, if they be past having, or else until they have so done, I commit all you 4 Spirits, by the name of Jesus Christ, into the hands of those Spirits infernall of the worst sort that may be, to be tormented, And I command you & all of you & every one of you, **Lucifer, Belzebub, Sathan, & Danciation**<sup>38</sup> to torment them & I doe by & with the leave of God, charge & also Coniure you by God the Father, & God the Son, & by God the Holy Ghost, And by all that ever God made in Heaven & in the Earth, & by his Passion by his Resurection, & by his Ascention, that ye 4 Spirits **Theltrion** in the East, **Sperion** in the West, **Mayerion** in the South & **Boytheon** in the North, That yee fully goe to posses & torment thefe Theives until they retourne with the Goods to (N) in such a place, if they have them not to confess the same, or else againe I will comit you to **Lucifer, Belzebub, Sathan & Danciation**, & by them to be burned with fire & brimstone & never to rest, waking nor sleeping, eating nor drinking, nor walking, but be continually in most Extreame and [21r] intolerable torment, until you doe presently & forthwith, cause the Theife or Theives to retourne with the Goods, or to confes the same openly, the stolen things aforesaid & intended, and if you doe not fulfil my will & desire, that you may

<sup>36</sup> Note in margin, start of lines obscured in gutter.

<sup>37</sup> MS. *Boytheon*, but it's otherwise spelt fairly consistently.

<sup>38</sup> Elsewhere spelt *Dansiation*.

alwaise abide in the infernall Spirits hand, to be tormented continually vehemently & unspeakably, & that you burne both in body & minde, even as doe these your names & characters in this materiall fire of Brimstone & other stinking things, in such a restless & tormenting manner as is aforesaid, until you have causes the Theife or Theives, either to returne the things, or to acknowledge the Theft. (*then Cross the Fire & say*) and that in the name + of the + Father + & of the + Son + & of the + Holy Ghost + Amen + Amen + Amen +

*Then say;* let God arise, & his Enimies shalbe scattered. Then say the Creed, & pray thus, Lord have mercy upon us, & grant us the knowledge of these things, for our only Redeemers sake sweete Jesus + Christ + Amen + Amen + Amen +

Note that you must waite the houre you assign (or to the end of the time you assign for the retourne, if it be halfe a day) & then retournig again towards the expiration thereof say over the last prayer, & towards the end thereof these words [and that you burne both in body & minde as do these names &c.] then if the Goods be not brought back &c, burne the Box and strew the Ashes between the Plate, & so bury them.

*The order of placing the Plates of Lead, at the tyme when you bury them.*

First, lay downe in the Earth, that Plate whereon the Names of the Goods &c. are written, & let the naked man be placed next to the Earth.

Note that the 4 little plates conteyning the names of the 4 Byshops, being cut off from the large square plate) must be placed upon the extremity of the 4 sides of the written plate to face the 4 Byshops, Theltryon &c.

Then lay the face of the Ovall engraved Plate in the back of the great engraved plate, & so bury them.

*Materialle to fill the Box with*

First fill the Box with Brimstone & Assafettida<sup>39</sup> beaten small & then take bitts of parchment, bits of leather, & feathers, or other stinking matter,<sup>40</sup> & lay them towards the Top of the Box, with the Seale drawn upon Velome also, and winde it about with wyer, to keepe it close, let the wyers have a loop on the top, wherein to put the point of a Sword, by which it must be held up, over a fire of Eglantine, & so let it burne & consume.

<sup>39</sup> “& Assafettida” (Assafœtida) written *sup. lin.*

<sup>40</sup> “or other stinking matter” written *sup. lin.*

## *The Consecrations & Benedictions:*

[The following section combines conjurations and rubric from the *Heptameron seu elementa magica* with the conjurations and rubric of the *Ars Goëtia*, the first book of the *Lemegeton* (which in turn partly derived from the former).]

### *And first of the Benediction of the Circle.*

[22r] When the Circle is rightly perfected, sprinkle the same, with Holy or Purging Water, and say, Thou shalt purge me with Hysopp, O Lord, & I shall be cleane, thou shalt wash me & I shalbe whiter then Snow.

### *The Benediction of Perfumes.*

The God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Iacob, Bless here the Creatures of these kindes, that they may fill up the power & vertue of their Odours, so that neither the Enimye nor any false Imagination, may be able to enter into them, through our Lord Jesus Christ Amen.<sup>41</sup>

### *The Exorcisme of Fire, upon which the Perfumes are to be put.*

The Fire which is to be used for Fumigations, is to be in a new vessell of Copper<sup>42</sup> or Iron, & let it be exorcised after this manner, *I exorcise thee O thou Creature of Fire, by him by whome all things are made; That forthwith thou cast away every Fantasme from thee; that it shall not be able to doe any hurt in any thing; but bless O Lord this Creature of Fire & sanctifie it, that it may be blessed, to set forth the praise of thy holy Name, that noe hurt may come to the Exorcisers or Spectators though our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.*<sup>43</sup>

### *Of the Garment and Pentacle.*

Let is be a priests Garment, if it can be; but if it cannot be had, let it be of Lynin & cleane.

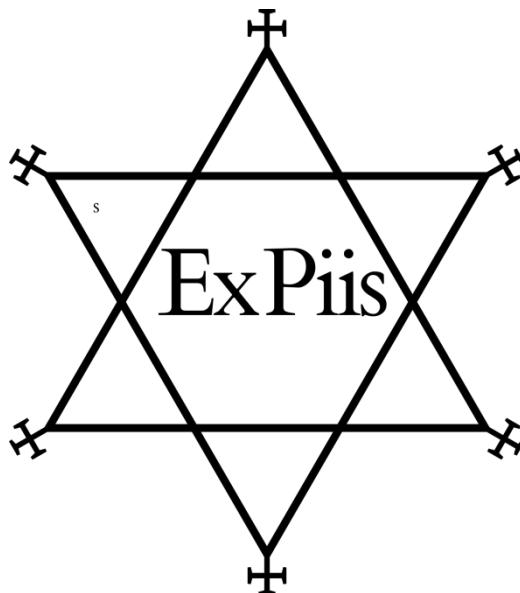
[22v] Then take this pentacle<sup>44</sup> made in the day & hour of Mercury (the Moon increasing) written in parchment of kidskin, but first let there be said over it, the Mass of the Holy Ghost, and let it be sprinkled with water of Baptisme.

<sup>41</sup> This and the preceding, including titles, are verbatim (barring variations in spelling) from Robert Turner's translation of the *Heptameron* of pseudo-Abano. An instruction for the perfumes to be sprinkled with holy water followed in the original.

<sup>42</sup> Turner reads "of earth or iron" (*fictili seu Terreo* in the Latin).

<sup>43</sup> Near-verbatim from T1665.

<sup>44</sup> The lettering inside the hexagram has been garbled, and characters that originally appeared outside it (including the letters of AGLA) completely omitted. In the printed *Heptameron*, it appears as a glyph resembling a somewhat angular lower case roman t, rotated 45° clockwise, followed by xp̄s, a scribal abbreviation for *Christus* (χριστος).



*An Oration to be said, when the Vesture is put on.*

**Ancor Amacor Amades Theodonias Anitor.** By the merits of the Angells<sup>45</sup> O Lord, I will put on this Gar[ment] of Salvation, that this which I desire I may bring to effect, though the most holy **Adonay**, whose Kingdome endur[eth] for ever & ever. **Amen.**<sup>46</sup>

When you would begin to work any great Experiment,<sup>47</sup> Let the Moone be increasing and equall & not Combuste. The Magicall Operator or Sophy Master of the Art, ought [to] be cleane & purified by the space of nyne daies before the beginning of the worke. And to confess & acknowledge his sins to God,<sup>48</sup> and let him have ready, the perfume appropriated to the day wherein he would performe the [23r] worke. He must also have Water of Baptisme, & a new Copper Vessel with Fire, a Vesture & Pentacle, And let all these things be rightly & duly consecrated & prepared. Let one of the Company<sup>49</sup> carry the Copper Vessel full of Fire & the Perfumes, And lat another beare the Booke, another the Garment & Pentacle, and let the Master carry the Sword, over which there must be said an Homony of the holy Ghost,<sup>50</sup> and on the midle of the Sword let there be written this name **Agla** ♫, and on the other side thereof the Name †On†. And as he goeth to the consecrated place, let him continually praise God, the Company answering.<sup>51</sup> And when he cometh to the place where he would enter the Circle with gravity and sound

<sup>45</sup> T1655 has “of thy Angel”; T1665, “of the Angels” (the Latin has *Angelorum tuorum sanctorum*).

<sup>46</sup> Some text is lost in the gutter; however as this passage is otherwise word-for-word identical to T1665, I am confident it has been correctly restored.

<sup>47</sup> This connecting phrase is an interpolation, and replaces the heading *Of the Manner of working (De modo operationis)* in the *Heptameron*.

<sup>48</sup> Turner: “[...] and to be confessed, and receive the holy Communion.”

<sup>49</sup> Turner refers to the Companions of Art (*discipuli*) as “servants.”

<sup>50</sup> Turner: “[...] over which there must be said one Mass of the Holy Ghost”

<sup>51</sup> Turner: “let him continually read Letanies, the servants answering.”

Judgement, Let him begin his Action being clothed with pure Garments and fumigated with Pentacles, perfume and all things necessary hereunto, let him enter the Circle and call the Angells from the foure parts of the World that rule the Aire, the same day wherein he doth worke or Experiment, having implored especially all the Names & Spirits, say as followeth:<sup>52</sup>

O all you Spirits whome I have invoked, moved, and called upon, I conjure & command you all by the name **Adon per Hagios, Otheos, Ischyros Athanatos, Paracletos, Alpha & Omega**, and by these sacred names **Agla, On, Tetragrammaton**, grant and fulfil my desires.<sup>53</sup>

Thus far being performed proceede to the Coniuration and Invocation for the day of your Action,<sup>54</sup> but if [23r] they be pertinacious and refractory & will not yield themselves obedient, neither to the Conjuration assigned to the day nor to the Prayers before made, then use the Invocation following.<sup>55</sup>

**Wee** being made after the Image of God, endued with power from God, & made after his Will, doe Exorcise you by the most mighty & powerfull name of God **El**, strong and wonderfull, O you Spirit **Vassago** or **Usago**,<sup>56</sup> wee command you by him who said the word & it was done and by all the Names of God, & by the name **Adonay, E[ll]**, Elohim, Eloë, Zebaoth, Elion, Escerchie, Iah, Tetragrammaton Sadai, Lord God most high, We Exorcise you & powerfully comand you forthwith to appear unto us here before this Circle in a faire humaine shape without any deformity or tortuosity; come yee a[ll] such, because wee command you, by the Name **Y** and **V**, which **Adam** heard & spake, and by

<sup>52</sup> This rubric is paraphrased rather than verbatim from Turner; and there are notable omissions, such as the instruction to sprinkle the Circle while saying the *asperges* and the stipulation of three days of “fasting, chastity, and abstinence from all luxury” prior to the work. This along with some of the changes noted above form part of an ongoing process of removing references to Roman Catholic doctrine and ritual in English works on magic. In a passage copied from the *Heptameron* added to an early 18<sup>th</sup>-century version of the *Ars Goëtia* (BL Harley MS. 6483), for instance, the copyist, while retaining the reference to a Mass being said over the Pentacle & having it sprinkled with holy water, commented “This was the practice in times of popery but Dr. Rud [the supposed scribe of the copyist’s source text] omitted it, saying no masse, nor using any holy water.” Basically, if you were outside the demographic (*i.e.*, peasant women) most at risk from witchcraft charges, being suspected of Roman Catholic sympathies was significantly more dangerous in 17<sup>th</sup>-century England than being suspected of practising magic.

<sup>53</sup> This was left untranslated in both T1655 and T1665.

<sup>54</sup> The conjurations for the seven days of the week were not part of the material copied by Ashmole into this notebook: versions can, however, be found in “The Magic and Magical Elements &c. &c. &c.” which is at least partly in Ashmole’s hand and was later bound up with this book.

<sup>55</sup> This passage of rubric is again paraphrased slightly from Turner rather than verbatim. Turner refers to the following speeches as “Conjurations and Exorcisms” (*Coniurationibus & exorcismis* in the Latin).

<sup>56</sup> Turner, following the Latin, has rather a parenthetical instruction, “here he shall name the Spirits he would have appear, of what Order soever they be.” **Vassago** is cited in the treasure-hunting process above, and the subject of an “experiment” in one of the other MSS. that were bound up with “Longobardus”; the forms **Vsagoo** and **Vzago** appears in the “Offices of the Spirits” section of V.b. 26 (pp. 79, 84).

the name of God **Agla**, which **Lott** heard<sup>57</sup> which Jacob heard from the Angel wrestling with him, & was delivered from the hand of his Brother **Esau**, and by the Name **Anephexeton** which **Aron** heard and spake and was made wise; and by the Name **Zebaoth** which **Moses** named, and all the Rivers and waters in the Land of Egypt were turned into Blood, and by the Name **Escrchie Oriston**,<sup>58</sup> which Moses named & all the Rivers brought forth Froggs, and they Ascended into the houses of the Egyptians, destroying all things, and by the Name **Elion** which **Moses** named [24r] and there was great Hayle, such as hath not been seene since the beginning of the World, and by the name **Adonay**, which **Moses** named, and there came up Locusts which appeared upon the whole Land of Egipt, and devoured all which the Haile had left, and by the name **Schemes Amathia**, which **Ioshua** called upon, & the Sun staid his course, and by the Name **Alpha** and **Omega**, which **Daniel** named and destroyed Bell & slew the dragon, and in the name **Emanuel**, which the three Children, **Shadrach**, **Mesach**, & **Abednego** sang in the midest of the fiery Furnace and were delivered, and by the Name **Hagios** & by the Seale of Adonay,<sup>59</sup> & by ὁ Θεος,<sup>60</sup> **Ischyros**, **Athanatos**, **Paracletos**, and by these three secret names Agla, On, **Tetragrammaton**, wee doe adjure & contest you, And by these names, & by all other Names of the Living and true God, & by our Lord Almighty we Exorcise and command you by him that spake the word & it was done; to whome all Creatures are obedient, and by the dreadfull judgment of God, by the uncertain Sea of Glass, which is before the face of the Divine Majesty, mighty and powerfull, by the foure footed Beasts before the Throne, having Eyes before & behind, & by the Fire round about his Throne, & by the holy Angells of Heaven, by the might Wisdome of God, we doe powerfully Exorcise you, that you appeare here before this Circle, & fulfil our wishes in all things, which shall seem good unto us; by the Seale<sup>61</sup> of Baldachia, and by his Name **Prima Vmaton**,<sup>62</sup> which **Moses** named, & the Earth [24v] opened & swallowed up Corah, Dathan & Abyran, and in the power of that Name **Prima Umaton**, [...]<sup>63</sup> commandeth the whole Host of Heaven; Wee Curse you, [we]

<sup>57</sup> At this point the words “and was saved with his Family; and by the name *Joth*” appear in T1665; they were probably omitted by copyist eye-skip.

<sup>58</sup> Thus in MS. T1655 & T1665 misprinted the name as *Ecerchie Oriston*, both in the Latin and English. The scribe possibly had access to a Latin copy, or another text in which the name appeared, and altered it accordingly.

<sup>59</sup> “by the Seale of Adonay” was an error (possibly due to a misreading by the typesetter or Turner omitting to cross a ‘t’) in T1665; the Latin has *sedem Adonay*.

<sup>60</sup> *Ho theos*, “God.” In the MS., the terminal –ος was represented by a now-obsolete ligature. While this word is indeed Greek (as are the three names following), in all the Latin versions of the *Heptameron*, and in T1655, where the “Exorcisme of the Spirits of the Air” was left untranslated, it was printed in Roman script; only in the translated conjuration in T1665 was it printed in Greek letters.

<sup>61</sup> *sedem* (“seat”) in the Latin again.

<sup>62</sup> Also appears as **Pneumaton** (Clm 849) or **Primeumaton** (the Vadian *Lucidarium* and the printed *Heptameron*).

<sup>63</sup> Word lost in gutter, probably “which”; T1665 phrases this clause slightly differently, “that name *Primeumaton*, commanding the whole Host of Heaven.”

deprive you from all your Office, Joy & Place, & do bind you in the depth of the bottomless pitt, there to rema[[in]] until the day of Judgment; & we binde yee into eternall Fire, and into the Lake of Fire & Brimston, unless you forthwith appeare heare before this Circle [[and]] doe our Will; therefore come you by these Names: **Adonay Zebaoth, Adonay Amioram** come yee, come yee, **Adonay** comandeth you, **Saday**, the King of Kings command you, **EL: Aty: Titeip: Azia: Hin: Ien: Minosel: Achadan: Vay: Vaah: Ey: Haa: Eye: Exe: a: El: El: a: Hy: Hau: Hau: Hau: va: va: va: va;**<sup>64</sup>

If they doe not come at the rehearsing of these two<sup>65</sup> forgoing Coniurations (but without doubt they wi[[ll]]),] say on as followeth, it being a Constraint.

[25r] **Wee Coniure thee Spiritt N:** by all the most glorious & efficacious Names, of the most great and incomprehensible Lord God of Hosts, that you come quickly without delay, from all parts & places of the world, to make rationall answers of my Demands. And that visibly & affably, speaking with a Voice, Intelligible to our Understanding (as aforesaid) we enjoyne constraine you Spirit **N:** by all aforesaid and by the Seaven Names, which wise Solomon bound Thee and the Fellowes in a Vessell of Brass, **Adonai, Prerari, Tetragrammaton, Inessanfatall, Anephexeton, Pathatumon & Itemon**, that you appeare here before this Circle; to fulfil our Wills in all things that shall seeme good unto us, And if you be disobedient, & refuse to come, Wee will in the Power, & by the power of the Name of the Superiour & everlasting Lord God, who created both you & us, & all the whole World in six daies, & what is conteyned in it, **Eye Saray**, And by the power of this Name, **PrimaVmaton**, which commandeth the whole Host of Heaven, Curse you, & deprive you from all your Office, Joy, & Place, & binde you in the depth of the bottomless Pitt, there to remaine unto the day of the last Judgment & will binde you into Eternall Fire, & into the Lake of Fire & Brimstone unless you come forthwith & appeare here before this Circle to doe our Will, Therefore come you, in & by these holy names **Adonay Zebaoth**,<sup>66</sup> **Adonay Amioram**, come you, **Adonay** commandeth you.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Barring vagaries of spelling, capitalisation and punctuation, and the variations noted, this is verbatim from the translation of the exorcism of the Aërial Spirits in T1665 (which omitted some citations from the Latin). At this point, *Longobardus* breaks away from the *Heptameron* rubric, which continued with a prayer to be said to the four quarters, and instead closely parallels the *Ars Goëtia* (see, e.g., S5 fol. 114v *sqq.*). Indeed, the parallels in the two sections to those two respective works are so close that it is far more likely that the present text was crudely nailed together from the 1665 English *Heptameron* and the *Ars Goëtia*, and therefore post-dates the latter rather than being a prototype for it (which latter was my initial suspicion).

<sup>65</sup> “Two forgoing conjurations” only makes sense if the first is taken to refer to the conjuration of the day, not given here. In the *Ars Goëtia*, the conjurations of the days of the week have dropped out of the system, and a modified version of the “Beralanensis” conjuration from the *Heptameron* was placed before the “Exorcism of the Spirits of the Air”; the bulk of the latter, with a new opening and ending, and omitting everything after “Corah, Dathan & Abyran” (some of which was shunted into a later part of the ritual) became the “Second Conjuration.”

<sup>66</sup> “Adonay Zeboath” in MS.

[25v] If you come soe farr, & he yet doe not appeare, you may be sure he is sent to some other place by his King, & cannot come; and if he be soe, Invoke the King as followeth to send him; but if he doe not come still, then you may be sure he is bound in Chains in Hell, & he is not in the Custody of his King, & if you have a desire to call him from thence, you must rehearse the Spirts Chaine,<sup>68</sup> &c.

*For to Invoke the King as followeth.*

O you great mighty & powerfull King **Amayon**,<sup>69</sup> who beares rule by the power of the superior God **El**, over all Spirits both Superiour & Inferiour of the infernall Order, in the Dominion of the East,<sup>70</sup> we invocate & command you, by the espeicall & truest names of your God, and by God that you worship & obey, & by the Seale of your Creation, & by the most mighty and powerfull name of your God **Iehovah Tetragrammaton**, who cast you out of Heaven, with all other of the infernall spirits, & by all the most powerfull & great Names of God, who created Heaven & Earth & Hell, & all things conteyned in them, & by their powers & vertues, & by the name **PrimaUmaton**, who commandseth

<sup>67</sup> From “And by the power of this Name, *PrimaVmaton*,” this is repeated from the exorcism of the Aërial Spirits: this section is not in the Second Conjunction of the *Ars Goëtia*, the bulk of which is based on Turner’s translation of the “Exorcism.”

<sup>68</sup> The “Spirits’ Chain” (*Vinculum spirituum*; also appears as the *Vinculum Salomonis*) is mentioned as a magical text in MS. by Trithemius in *Antipalus Maleficorum* (1508). Two texts with this title and the incipit given by Trithemius, or something very similar, are extant in 15<sup>th</sup>-century MSS. in the Bayern Staatsbibliothek at Munich, Clm 849 (the “Munich Manual of Necromancy”) and Clm 10085 (ostensibly a manual of exorcism). It appears to have been a floating text that was cited by, or incorporated into, various Solomonic magical works. While extant exemplars have much variation, they have a similar structure and the main text typically begins *per potentissimum et corroboratum nomen dei El, fortē et admirabilem*, going on to conjure / command / constrain the dæmon by a long chain of names of God which characters in the Hebrew legends are said to have heard and / or spoken and thereby been saved, made wise, or wrought various wonders.

Later versions can be found in a 16<sup>th</sup>-century Key of Solomon version in Sloane MS. 3847 (fol. 13v-15v) and the pseudo-Abano *Lucidarium artis magicae* (e.g. St. Gallen, Kantonsbibliotek: Vad Slg Ms. 334, p. 12-13); it is, in fact, an ancestor of the *Heptameron*’s “Exorcismus Spirituum Aërorum” and thus of the Second Conjunction of the *Ars Goëtia*. In other words, if you get to this point, *you have already rehearsed the Spirits’ Chain*. Since that title was not attached to the exorcism in the *Lucidarium* or *Heptameron*, and since the entries for Byleth and Belial in the *Pseudomonarchia Daemonum* (the main source for the spirit catalogue of the *Goëtia*) mentioned it, the compiler of the *Goëtia* assembled the text following under that title to fit the reference. This is entirely in keeping with their habits: the *Pauline Art* of the *Lemegeton* bears no relation other than the name to the older work of that title mentioned by Agrippa, and the name “Lemegeton” itself derives from a reference in the *Ars Notoria* to a “treatise of secret and spiritual experiments” by Solomon.

<sup>69</sup> Or *Oriens*, *Paymon*, *Egin*, as appropriate. Possibly. While some of the texts bound up in S4 name the Kings of the quarters thus, the *Ars Goëtia*, deriving from Wier’s *Pseudomonarchia Daemonum*, has them as *Amaymon* (E.), *Corson* (W.), *Ziminiar* (N.) & *Goap* (S.) (S5, fol. 111r). With a few exceptions, the list of spirits does not specify to which quarter they are referred, or to which King they are subject. Some spirit catalogues (e.g. V.b. 26. pp. 81-2), do give this information, but have a limited overlap with the *Ars Goëtia* in terms of which spirits they list. Wier deliberately redacted material from his source, a *Liber Officiorum Spirituum* manuscript, when he published it, hoping to make the whole thing unusable; the subsequent popularity of the *Ars Goëtia* suggests he failed in this goal.

<sup>70</sup> Or other quarter as appropriate.

the whole Host of Heaven, That you cause, enforce and compel **N**: to come unto us here before this Circle, in a faire & comly forme, without doing any harme unto us, or any other Creatures, and to answer truly & faithfully to all our Requests, that wee may [26r] accomplish our wills & desires, in knowing or obeying any matter or thing, which by Office you know is proper for him to performe or accomplish, through the power of God **El**, who created & disposeth of all things both Celestiall, Aieriall, Terrestriall & Infernal.

After you have invoked the King in this manner twice or thrice over, Then Conjure the Spirit you would call forth, by the aforesaid Coniurations, rehearsing them severall tymes together, & he will come without doubt, if not at first or second tyme rehearsing, but if he doe not come, add the Spirits Chaine, to the end of the aforesaid Coniurations, & he wilbe forced to come, if he be bound in Chaines, for the Chaines will break off from him, & he will be at Liberty &c.

*The generall Curse called the Spiritts Chaine,  
against all Spiritts that Rebell.*

O thou wicked & disobedient Spirit, because thou has rebelled, & not obeyed and regarded our words, which we have rehearsed, they being all most glorious & incomprehensible names of the true God, maker and creator of you & us, & all the World. Wee by the power of those Names, which noe Creature is able to resist, doe Curse you, into the depth of the Botomless Pitt, & there to remaine unto the day of doome, in Chaines of fire & brimstone unquenchable, unless you forthwith appeare here before this Circle [or within this  $\Delta$  Triangle] [26v] to doe our Wills. Therefore come peaceably & quickly in & by these Names, **Adonay Zebaoth**, **Adony Amioram**, come, come you, **Adonay** commandeth you.

When you have read soe far, & he does not come, Then write his Name & Seale in Virgin parchment and put it into a black Box, with Brimstone, Assafoetida & such like things that have a stinking strong smell, & bynde the Box round with a Wyre, & hang it on your sword point, & hold it over the Fire of Charcoales, & say to the Fire (it being placed toward that Quarter the Spirit is to come),

Wee Conjure you Fire, by him that made thee & all other good Creatures in the World, that thou torment, burne & consume this Spirit **N**. everlastingly. Wee condemne thee thou Spirit **N**. into Fire everlasting, because thou art disobedient and obeyed not the commands, nor kept the Precepts of the Lord thy God, neither wilt thou appeare to, or obey us, nor our Invocations, having thereby called you forth, who are the Servante of thee most high & imperiall Lord of Hosts **Iehovha**, and dignified & fortified, by his Cœlestiall power and permission, neither comest thou to answer to these our proposals

here made unto you, for which your aversness & contempt, you are guilty of grand disobedience & Rebellion, And therefore wee shall [27r] Excommunicate you, & destroy thy Name & Seale, which wee have here incdored in this Box, & shall burne them in immortall fire, & bury them in immortal Oblivion, unless thou imediately come & appeare visibly, affably, friendly & courteously heer unto us, before this Circle in this  $\Delta$  Triangle, in a faire and comly forme, & in no wise horrible, hurtfull or firghtfull to us, or any other creature upon the face of the Earth: and make rationall Answers to our Requestes, & perform all our desires in all things, that wee shall make unto you, &c.

If he come not yet, say as followeth.

Now O thou Spirit **N.** since thou art still pertinacious & disobedient, & will not appeare unto us to answer such things, as we should have desired of you, or would have been satisfied in &c: Wee doe in the Name, & by the power & dignity of the Omnipotent Immortall Lord God of Hosts **Iehovah Tetragrammaton**, the only Creator of Heaven & Earth & Hell, & all that in them is, who is the marvellous disposer of all things, both visible and invisible, Wee Curse you & deprive you, from all your Office, Joy & Place, & do binde you in the depth of the bottomless Pitt, & there to remaine until the day of the last Judgment, Wee say into the Lake of Fire & Brimstone, which is prepared for all rebellious, disobedient, Obstinate & pertinacious Spirits, [27v] Let all the Holy Company of Heaven Curse you, the Sun, Moone & Stars, the Light, & all the Hosts of Heaven Curse Thee, Wee Curse thee, into the fire unquenchable & Tormente unspeakable, & as thy Name & Seale is conteyned in this Box, chained & bound up, & shalbe choaked in Sulphurious & stinking Substance, & burn in the materiall Fire, so in the name **Iehovah**, by the power & dignity of these three names Tetragrammaton, Anepheeton & PrimaUmaton, [we] cast thee, O thou disobedient Spirit **N.** into that Lake of Fire, which is prepared for the damned and cursed Spirits, and there to remaine to the day of doome, and never more to be remembered of, before the face of God, which shall come to Judge the Quick & the dead and the World by Fire.

Heere the Exorcist must put the Box into the Fire.

And by and by he will come, but as soone as he is come, quench the Fire that the Box is in, & make a sweete perfume, & give him a kinde entertainment, shewing him the Pentalce, what is at the bottom of your Vesture, covered with a lynnin cloth, saying,

Behold the Conclusion if you be Disobedient. Behold the Pentacle of Solomon, which we have brought here before thy presence, Behold the person of the Exorcist who is called **Octinom[os]**, [28r] in the midest of the Exorcisme, who is armed by God & without feare, who potently Invocated you, & cal'd you to Appearance, Therefore make rationall Answers to our demands, & be obedient to us your Masters, In the Name of the Lord, **Bathat** rushing upon **Abrac**, **Abeor** coming upon **Abarer**.

Then they or he wilbe Obedient, & bid you aske what you will, for they are subiected by God to fulfil our desires & demands, And when they or he, have appeared & shewes himself humble & meeke, then you are to say as followeth:

Welcome O you Spirit or Spirits, or most Noble King or Kings, we say you are welcome unto us, because we called you, through him who created both Heaven Earth & Hell, & all that is conteyned in them, & you have obeyed also by the same power that we called you forth. Wee binde you that you remaine affably & visibly here before this Circle (*or* before this Circle in this  $\Delta$  Triangle),<sup>71</sup> for constant & so long as we have occasion for you, & not to depart without our Lycence, until you have faithfully & truly performed our Wills, without any falsity, &c.

### *The Lycence to Depart.*

O thou Spirit N., because thou hast very diligently [28v] answered our demands, & was very willing to come at our first Call, Wee doe here Lycence thee to depart unto thy proper place, without doing any harme, injury or danger to Man or Beast (depart we say) & be ever ready to come at our Call, being Exorcized and Conjured, by the sacred rights of Magick, Wee charge thee to depart peaceably & quietly, And the Peace of God be ever continued between us & thee. A[men.]

After thou hast given the Spirit Lycence to depart you are not to goe out of the Circle, till they be gone, and you have made prayers to God, for the grea[ $\ddot{t}$ ] Blessing he hath bestowed upon you in granting you your desires, & delivering you from all the malice of the Enimy the Devill.

Therefore thou shalt pray thus,<sup>72</sup>

O Lord God of heaven & Earth, Creator & Maker of all things visible & invisible, Wee thy most humble servants doe returne thee humble & heart thanks, for thy fatherly goodness & mercies, in granting these our desires, which through thy permission, we have now obteyned & received, Binde, O Lord those things, which though hast taught us to obteyne, in our Understandings, that we may bring them forth as out of thy inexhaustible Treasures to all necessary uses, & give us grace, that we may [29r] use such thy guifts & mercies humbly with feare & trembling, to thyne honor & praise, & to our owne conforte here on Earth, through our Lord, Jesus Christ. *Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spirituo Sancto: Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper, et in sæculo sæculorum Amen.*<sup>73</sup>

[29v blank]

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<sup>71</sup> The closing bracket was after “or before this Circle” in the MS., which made no sense.

<sup>72</sup> This prayer is not included in the BL MSS. of the *Ars Goëtia*.

<sup>73</sup> Lat., “Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, as was in the beginning and now and always to ages of ages, Amen.”

## Elias Ashmole's notes on *Janua Magica Reserata*

The following notes and transcriptions, like the preceding 27 leaves, are in the hand of Elias Ashmole. They refer to a magical treatise titled *Janua Magica Reserata*.<sup>74</sup>

The *Janua* is a 17<sup>th</sup>-century work on angel magic (probably ca. 1660<sup>75</sup>) of unknown authorship. It contains conjurations for the nine orders of angels of pseudo-Dionysius (Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones, &c.) to appear in a “Crystal Stone or Glass Receptacle,” with a theoretical preface drawing heavily on Agrippa’s *De Occulta Philosophia*.<sup>76</sup> The most complete copy known now forms the first half or so (fol. 3-96) of Sloane MS. 3825, and was for a time in the possession of Elias Ashmole. Based on that copy, and on a comparison with another copy to which he had access, apparently lacking the conjurations but with the theoretical section expanded and slightly rearranged, Ashmole made the notes and copies here transcribed.

Other materials which survive in Sloane MSS. 3821 and 3825 (which, like 3824, were in the Sommers and Jekyll collections prior to being acquired by Sloane, and before that had passed through the hands of Ashmole) are in similar style, and likely of common authorship, to the *Janua*. These include “The Practice of the Tables,” or *Clavicula Tabularum Enochii*,<sup>77</sup> the “Operations of the Angles of the Air,”<sup>78</sup> “Celestial Confirmations of Terrestrial Observations”<sup>79</sup> and “A Select Treatise at it was first discovered to the Egyptian Magi”;<sup>80</sup> together they form an extensive magical system mostly based around evocation to crystal, involving the Angels of John Dee’s “Tables of Enoch,” the planetary Intelligences, and the Demon Kings of the quarters.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Lat. “The Magical Gate Unlocked.” Typeset in Stephen Skinner & David Rankine (ed.), *Keys to the Gateway of Magic*, Singapore: Golden Hoard Press, 2005.

<sup>75</sup> Some references in the following suggest it was compiled during, or shortly after, the “Commonwealth” period of English history (1649-1660). The use of printed sources makes a date before 1659 extremely unlikely.

<sup>76</sup> There are far more borrowings than those noted by Ashmole here, and the compiler demonstrably used the 1651 printed English translation rather than independently translating from an earlier Latin edition. Other identifiable sources include *T&FR* and *Arbatel de magia veterum* (*Arbatel of Magick*).

<sup>77</sup> S1 fol. 2-157. Another copy, probably earlier & certainly more complete, is in Sloane MS. 307. The work is untitled in S1; “The Practice of the Tables” is how Hans Sloane’s librarian designated it in the contents list, based on some internal section titles, and it is unclear whether the title *Clavicula Tabularum Enochii* in Sloane 307 refers simply to the table of letter-squares at the start of the work, or the treatise as a whole.

<sup>78</sup> S1 fol. 158-165, 178-187. There is no overall title in MS., it comprises four sections titled “Operations of the East Angle of the Aire by invocation to the Regal Spirit **Oriens**,” and similarly for **Paimon** in the West, **Amaymon** in the South and **Egin** in the North. As indicated by the full titles, these call on the demon kings of the quarters and their subordinates; barring the names of the spirits cited and the quarters to which they are referred, the four texts are near-identical.

<sup>79</sup> S1 fol. 166-177 (interrupting the “Operations of the Angles of the Air,” and with some leaves out of order). This calls on Angels of the seven planets, mostly familiar from the *Heptameron*, apparently to empower some kind of talisman or material basis; much phrasing in the conjurations is verbatim from the *Janua*.

<sup>80</sup> S1 fol. 205-225. A fragment appears in S5 fol. 96v-99v. This is based around the planetary “Intelligences” mentioned in Agrippa, whose names are concocted in Hebrew to add up to one or another of the “magic numbers” of the planets. While it has much phraseology shared, there are also stylistic and other variations suggesting it was written by a later author in imitation of the *Janua*.

<sup>81</sup> The first part (fol. 3-15) of “Longobardus” (or possibly this is the whole of it: it is unclear exactly how much of the MS. that title actually embraces), is likewise in similar style to the “Invocation of Angels” texts.

*[Concerning material taken from Cornelius Agrippa]*

[30r] The first 5 pages<sup>82</sup> are taken out of the 36 Chap: of the 3<sup>d</sup> Book of Cornelius Agrippa's Occult Philosophy. Set forth by Dr. French.<sup>83</sup>

The 6 & 7 page is taken from the 36 Chapter.<sup>84</sup>

The discourse relating to Ideas in p: 23 to the middle of page 25 is to be found in the 11 Chap. Of the first Booke of Occult Philosophy.<sup>85</sup>

The discourse of the 9 Orders of Angells in p: 47, 48, 49, 50 & 51 is taken out of the 10 chap: lib. 3.<sup>86</sup>

For Angells president in p: 61, 62, 63, see lib. 3 c: 24.<sup>87</sup>

[30v blank]

*[Concerning the following excerpts]*

[31r] What follows was transcribed from another MS. Copy of part of this Book; w<sup>ch</sup> reached only to the Isagogicall Observations in pag. 75 & noted by pages & capitall Letters, where they were inserted by Dr. R.<sup>88</sup>

Where note that to the Title (viz., *Janua Magica Reserata*) there was added in the said MS. Copy per *Clavem Philomusei*.

Note that I find much of this discourse coppied out from Dr. French his translation of Cornelius Agrippa his Occult Philosophy, w<sup>ch</sup> I have noted in the Margins.<sup>89</sup>

[31v blank]

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<sup>82</sup> Fol. 3r-5r.

<sup>83</sup> "Of man, how he was created after the Image of God" (p. 457). From the start of the *Janua* to "untill it be made a wicked spirit" at the top of fol. 5v is an edited extract from this chapter.

The English translation of *De Occulta Philosophia*, as originally printed, was credited only to "J. F." Bibliographers have variously taken the initials to stand for "John French" and "James Freake." Ashmole, given his social circle, interests & and connections is likely to have known.

<sup>84</sup> Probably an error for "37"; "Of mans soul and through what means it is joyned to the body." (p. 465). From "The soul of man, being a certain divine light" on fol. 5v to "the Soul flyeth away with this Celestial vehicle &c." on fol. 6r is from this chapter.

<sup>85</sup> "How Occult Vertues are infused into the severall kinds of things by *Idea's*, through the help of the Soul of the World, and rayes of the Stars: and what things aboud most with this Vertue." The discussion of Ideas, beginning "It is yet further to be observed" (fol. 14r) begins with a short paraphrase from chap. 14, followed by a slight paraphrase of the bulk of chap. 11, ending at "virtues that are inferior species" in the middle of fol. 15r.

<sup>86</sup> "Of Divine emanations, which the Hebrews call Numerations, others Attributes." The attributions of Michael and Raphael in the *Janua* are counterchanged compared to those in Agrippa. The ensuing section of the *Janua* is almost entirely from ch. 37 & 38 of lib. III; the section after that from ch. 17.

<sup>87</sup> "Of the Names of Spirits &c." That chapter also includes material from lib. III cap. 16, 25 & 28, The following discussion of evil spirits is largely drawn from cap. 18.

<sup>88</sup> The capital letters denoting sections were also written in S5 to indicate the insertion points. "Dr. R" was probably the same "Dr. Rudd" to whom a copy of the conjurations of the *Janua* in BL Harley MS. 6482 (1712), and a revised version of the *Lemegeton* in Harley MS. 6843 (1712-13) are ascribed, although the matter is made murky due to Harley 6479-86 also ascribing to "Rudd" material plagiarized from printed books of 1650-90.

<sup>89</sup> These marginalia have been noted in footnotes where they are legible.

*Excerpt A.<sup>90</sup>*

[32r] OBSERVE the words of an Orthodox & learned Father, who divinely saith thus; the Heavens, the Earth & every Creature, speakes unto us with their voyces;

The first voice saith, Receive a Benefit,

The second, pay thy Benevolence,

The third, avoyd punishment.

The Heavens saith, I give thee light in the day, that thou maist worke.

The darkness saith, I spread my Curtaine in the Night, that thou maist rest.

The Aire saith, I nourish thee with Breath; all kind of Fowles, I keepe at thy Comand

The Water saith, I give thee Drink, I purge away all uncleaness, I preserve all my Elementary Creatures to thy use, from the smallest Minnum, to the mighty Whale.

The Earth saith, I beare thee, I nourish thee with Bread & Wine, I fill thy Table with all sorts of Creatures & Fruite.

The second is a voyce of Admonition, in w<sup>ch</sup> the World saith: See Man how he loved thee, w<sup>ch</sup> made me for thee; I serve thee as thou servest him, w<sup>ch</sup> made both thee & me.

The third Voyce is a voice of threatening, where the Fire saith, thou shalt be burnt by me: The Water saith, thou shalt be drowned by me, the Earth saith thou shalt be swallowed up by me, as some have been; if thou lay by<sup>91</sup> thy Obedience to him, w<sup>ch</sup> put of all subjection to thee.

Hence you see, that all Creatures call upon Man to serve him, because he is the summe & Epitomy of alle; & do willingly obey him.

Behold then &c. ~~~~ p. 9.<sup>92</sup>

*Excerpt B.<sup>93</sup>*

[32v] HAVING briefly layd open the Excellency & dignity of Man, let us see what we shall Councill him to observe, before we enter upon our following Tractate, & the practise thereof. The subject whereof is Magick, & it hath been very much approved of, by all the ancient & Moderne Philosophers, unto whome it hath been revealed, by the holy Revelation of blessed Angells, as shalbe manifested, & made more plainly appere in the following description thereof; the which, before we shall insist on, wee shall lay downe some Theologicall & Philosophicall Aphorismes, by way of Instruction; to shew what a Magitian ought to bee, and how me may deck himself in a magicall habit, both in the

<sup>90</sup> Insertion point: after “were not perfected but in many days,” fol. 7r (p. 9).

<sup>91</sup> In the sense of “put aside, neglect” probably.

<sup>92</sup> This indicates where the ensuing text once more matches up with that in S5. In this instance there is no difficulty. The pick-up text after extracts B-D, however, indicates that besides containing additional passages, some of the text shared by the two copies was ordered differently.

<sup>93</sup> Insertion point: after “perfect mind doth not Change in Council,” fol. 8v (p. 12).

inward & outward Man, & how he may put on him the Robes of the Cœlestiall & Angelicall disciplines, whereby he becomes more sublime, & ascende to more divine things, & participates fully & freely, of the Angellicall Converse & Ministry &c.

Now thus much observe by the way, to anticipate all doubts & objections, which in many ordinary discourses may arise frivously, for want of better Judgment, when Things will not be otherwise perswaded, because perhaps the subject of our following discourse, may not in a Moment be rightly understood; For as in a Harmony or Consort of Musick, if one string thereof be out of Order, the whole Consort presently Jarres, & is dissonant & disordered, insomuch that the whole Body thereof immediately falls into a Confusion; So if one mysticall Sence hereof by misunderstood, the whole Art is presently condemned.

None can draw a knowing & intelligent Man by Reason, unto things that reach a little beyond his present Capacity, but by receiving that Inspiration & force by Sense: For the Animall Spirit of Man, is by the influence of the [33r] Cœlestialls, & the Cooperations of the Minde & Will, affected beyond his former & naturall disposition.

Now the more learned, discrete & expert Magitian, doth not admire this more rare & divine doctrine, & the great guifts and benifits proceeding therefrom, & received thereby; from whence, many wonderfull, Rare & admirable Experiments, Operacions & effects are produced & brought to pass, by virtue of the Cœlestiall Authority, managed according to the Order & discretion of the sublime<sup>94</sup> Magitian; because he is not a stranger to the heavens, &c.<sup>95</sup>

But not only these things, but also all naturall Arte & Sciences of use, are admired at, by the malevolent, detractive, indigent, vulgar & illiterate persons, who merely out of Ignorance, deride & condemne all things, they know not, nor are accustomed to.

This being as much as is necessary by the way, to dissipate any misty vapour of Interception, which ingender & beget nothing but pernitious opinions & debates, to the confusion of the senses, & the overthrow of the Intelligible Faculty, to the great Scandall of Learning & the experienced Magitian, & the dishonour of God also.

Wee shall now proceede unto those necessary & usefull Aphorims, very fit to be knowne & observed of him, who would be a Contemplator of diving things, & a Learner of Cœlestiall & Magicall Doctrine &c: And next to the Description of the Heavenly Magick & the Philosophicall & Theologicall use, construction & Practise thereof.

In the name of God, Amen.

Beneficall Aphorisms &c.: ~~~~ p. 16.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Written in, somewhat cramped, above “divine,” which latter word has been crossed out.

<sup>95</sup> This and the preceding paragraph are very slight variants of a passage which occurs in S5 (fol. 10r / p. 15), also shortly prior to the chapter of aphorisms.

<sup>96</sup> Fol. 10v by current foliation.

*Excerpt C.<sup>97</sup>*

[33v] IN NOMINE Dei Iehovah Amen. Halleluiah.

In the first place, a Magitian ought to know God who is the giver of all good Gifts; this is the true & Orthodox beleife & description of God, according to the religious Construction of Christian Professors.

God the first, the Originall, the Cause of Causes, Increase, the only wise, infinite, omnipotent, eternall, incomprehensible, unbegotten, without parte, perfection, most like himself, the Guide of all Good, expecting no reward, the best, the wisest, the Father of all Right, having learned Justice without Teaching.—In the Godhead are three Persons, the Father Son & Holy Ghost, Coeternal & Coequall, of one most simple Essence, Substance, & Nature: And we ought to worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity, neither confounding the Persons, nor dividing the Substance.

The true name of this Incomprehensible God, is neither known to Angells nor Men, but to himself alone, neither shall it be manifested, until his will is fulfilled, p: <illegible> init.  
[Luna]

Yet in this ineffable Essence, are contained many divine powers & Attributes, which as Rivolets flow from the Center of this Omnipotent Fountaine, & hath undoubtedly Influence on all things by a certain Order, from the highest things even to the lowest, & thenm as Beams are reflected from the Splendor of the most glorious & unspeakable Lumen, conteyning all things, have first & imediately Influence on the nyne Orders of Angells, & from them into the Cœlestiall Spheares, Planets & Men; & so accordingly, every thing receiveth power & virtue, to performe & fulfil the Office to which it is called.

[34r] Thus may wee behold the great Iehovah, called or distinguished, by the Names & significations of severall powerfull virtuous and ineffable Attributes, whereby out Intellect, being wrapt up in an Extasie of Cœlestiall & divine Contemplations, stand in admiration, to behold the wonders of his worke in Nature; and then for our further Illumination, that we may yet come nearer to the Knowledge & Inspection of the glorious Deity; behold through the portholes of the Cœlestiall Orbs, descends Natures Handmaid, to the assistance of all our Affairs, according to our Necessities, & naturall Juidciousness, in the fulfilling & accomplishing all things, in respect of their Counsell, Office, Quality or Nature, only to his Glory, & the use of Man, &c:

To conclude, there is certainly no names of God amongst us, that is not taken from his Works, &c.:

The Allsufficient God ~~~~ see p: 12<sup>98</sup>

<sup>97</sup> Insertion point: after “the soul of man, standing and not falling.” (end of “Beneficial Aphorisms,” fol. 14r).

<sup>98</sup> This pick-up note was written in small at the end of the excerpt. After this excerpt, and continuing to the bottom of the page, Ashmole transcribed a passage which he later realised was already in his copy of the *Janua*:

*Excerpt D.<sup>99</sup>*

[34v] HAVING now briefly treated of the Cœlestiall & Terrestriall Harmonies, and the mutually correspondencies of these Inferiours with their Superiours; whereby we become capable, of receiving certain Cœlestiall Guifts from above, &c. – wee shall now touch at somewhat of the four Triplicities (or Elements) their various qualities, Natures, & Comixtions, & how they are formed every where, & in all things, both Cœlestiall, Terrestriall & Infernall.

*Of the Foure Elements.*

There are foure Elements, which are the originall Grounds of all<sup>100</sup> Corporiall Things, & of which all Elementatated Inferiour Bodies are compounded; not by way of heaping them together, but by Transmutation & Union; and they are Fire (1), Aier (3), Earth (2) & Water (4):

The Nature & Quality of þ <sup>e</sup>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Fire} \\ \text{Earth} \\ \text{Ayer} \\ \text{Water} \end{array} \right\}$	is	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Hot \& dry,} \\ \text{Cold \& dry,} \\ \text{Hot \& Moist,} \\ \text{Cold \& Moist} \end{array} \right\}$	answering to the	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{East} \\ \text{South} \\ \text{West} \\ \text{North} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Eurus} \\ \text{Notus} \\ \text{Zephyrus} \\ \text{Boreas} \end{array} \right\}$
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These Elements according to two contrary qualities, are likewise contrary one to the other in Nature, *vizt*: Fire to Water — & Earth to Ayre — And upon another Account are opposite one to the other for Earth & Water is heavy, & Fire & Ayre is Light; And the Fire & Aire is active, & the Earth & Water is passive.

To the Fire is assigned Brightness, Thynness & Motion.

To the Earth — — — Darkness, Thickness & Quietnes.

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“The Allsufficient God hath created all things, ruling & disposing them, & setled his heavenly decrees, according to his divine, holy & gracious Will, then doth he distribute the putting thereof in Execution to the Care of divers & sevrall Ministers, the w<sup>ch</sup> S<sup>t</sup>. John in the Revelations calls assisting & destroying Angells.

“And whatsoever God doth by Angells (as by Ministers) the same he doth by the Starrs (as it were by Instruments) who accordingly transmit them to this sensible World, that after this manner all things might worke together to serve him, so that it is fit we should apply the tyme, place, & species of the Angells & Stars to their respective parte, according as they are referred to them, both in respect of their Offices & Signification, &c.

“Note, every thing may (be) aptly be reduced from these Inferiours to the Stars, from the Stars to their Intelligencyes, from thence to the first Cause itself, from the Series and Order whereof, all hidden Philosopher flowes, for every day [some”]

The entire passage is cancelled and the catch-word does not appear on the next page. A note in the margin next to it (partly unreadable due to tight binding of the codex) indicates that this can be found on pp. 12-13 (fol. 8v-9r) under the head “Further Observations worthy of note.”

<sup>99</sup> Insertion point: after “as to its roots, causes and signs, it is reduced” fol. 10r (p. 15). This, it will be observed, is before the insertion point for excerpt C.

<sup>100</sup> In margin: illegible note, mostly lost in gutter, but based on the others, probably indicating the chapter of OOP here adapted.

Here you see according to these Qualities, these Elements of Fire and Earth, to be clearly contrary to each other.

The other Elements borrow their Qualities from these, as thus:

The Ayre receives two Qualities of the Fire, vitz: Thynnes and Motion, & one of the Earth, vitz: Darkness.

The Water receives two Qualities of the Earth, vitz: Darkness & Thickness, & one of the Fire, vitz: Motion.

Fire is twice more thinn then Ayer, thrice more moveable, & foure tymes more bright.

[35r] Ayre twice more bright than Water, thrice more thynn, & foure tymes more moveable.

Water is twice more bright than Earth, thrice more thyn, & foure times more moveable.

So that as the fire is to the Ayre, so is Aire to the Water, & Water to the Earth.

Then againe, as the Earth is to the Water, so is the Water to the Ayre, and the Ayre to the Fire.

And he who shalbe truly knowing & Learned, in these Qualities of the Elements, & their severall Commixtures, together with what followeth in relation thereunto, which is the Root & foundation of all Bodies, Causes, Natures, Virtues, Qualities & Operations, shall easily bring to pass many sublime, Rare, Wonderfull & Admirable Effects, to the astonishment of the Incredulous, & malevolent Detractors; and now we shall descend to particulars, and first<sup>101</sup>

### *Of Fire.*

Fire in all things & through all things, comes & goes away Bright, it is in all things Bright, & at the same tyme occult & unknown; When it is by it selfe (no other Matter coming to it, in which it should manifest its proper Action) it is boundless & invisible of itself, sufficient for every Action that is proper to it, moveable, yeilding it self (after a manner) to all things that come next to it, renewing, guarding Nature, enlightening not comprehended by Lights, that are vailed over; cleere, parted, leaping back, bending upwards, quick in Motion, high, always raising Motions; Comprehending another, not comprehended it selfe, nor standing in neede of another; secretly encreasing of it selfe, & manifesting its greatness to things that receive it: Active, powerfull, invisible, present in all things at once, It will not be affronted nor opposed, but (as it were in a way of revenge) it will reduce on a suddaine things in obedience to it selfe; It is incomprehensible, [35r] impalpable, not lessened, most rich in all dispensations of it selfe;

<sup>101</sup> This section is adapted, with some omissions, paraphrases and added connecting text, from OOP, Book I, chap. 3, "Of the four Elements, their qualities, and mutual mixtions" (pp. 6-7).

it is of it selfe one & penetrates through all things, it is shining & spread abroad in the Heavens, but in the Infernall place, it is streightened, dark, & Tormenting; and in the Midway it partakes of both: It is in it selfe One, but in that which receives it Manifold, & in differing Subjects it is distributed in a different manner.

Now the Fire which we use is fetched out of other things; It is in Stones, & fetched out by the Stroak of the Steele. It is in Earth, and after it is dug up, makes it to smoke; It is in Water, & heats springs & Wells; It is in the depth of the Sea, & makes it warme, when tossed with Windes; It is in the Aire, & makes it burne (as often tymes we see). It is in all Animalls, & Living things whatsoever; for every thing that lives, lives by reason of the inclosed heate: It is in all Vegetables, for that they are preserved by heat.

The properties of the Cœlestiall Fire is Heate, making fruitfull & giving Light & Lyfe to all things; by the properties of the Internall Fire is Darknes, a parching heate, consuming & making all things burne.

Now the true Cœlestiall Fire & Omnipotent Lumen, which is the Father of Lights, who saith from the Light of the World, sends forth the most glorious & illustrious Light of his Fire, according to his gracious desire, communicating it first to the diurnall Lamp the Sun, & the rest of the Cœlestiall Bodies; who then as mediating Instruments, conveyeth that Light into our Fire, which is the Vehiculum of the *Superiour Light*.<sup>102</sup>

### *Of the Element, or Triplicity of Earth.*

Earth is the Basis & Foundation of all the Elements, for it is the Object, Subject & Receptacle of all Cœlestiall Rayes & Influences, In it are contained the Seeds & seminall Virtue of all things, & therefore it is said to be Animall, Vegetable & Minerall: It being made fœcund by the Heavens, & the other Elements; brings forth [36r] all things of it selfe: it receives the abundance of all things, & is (as it were) the first Fountaine from whence all things spring; it is the Center, Foundation & Mother of all things; in it are great Secrets, & it is the first matter of our Creation, &c.<sup>103</sup>

### *Of the Element or Triplicity of Ayre.*

Aire is said to be a vitall Spirit, passing through all beings, giving lyfe & subsistence to all things, & binding, moving & filling all things; It imediately receives into itself, the Influence of all Cœlestiall Bodies, & then communicates them to the other Elements, & alsoe to all mixt Bodies. It receives into its selfe (as if it were a divine Looking glass) the Species of all things both Naturall & Artificiall, & also likewise<sup>104</sup> of all manner of

<sup>102</sup> This section is adapted from OOP Book I, chap. 5, “Of the wonderfull Natures of Fire, and Earth” (pp. 9-10). This is apparently noted by Ashmole in the margin (the note is mostly lost in the gutter owing to over-tight binding of the MS., but “5” and “9” are visible).

<sup>103</sup> This section is also adapted from OOP Book I chap, 5 (p. 10-11).

<sup>104</sup> ‘also’ has been crossed on in the MS., and ‘likewise’ written *sup. lin.*, with an insertion mark below the cancelled word.

speeches, and reteynse them, & carries them with it; it enters into the Bodies of Men & other Animalls through their Pores, & makes an impression upon them, as well when they sleepe, as when they are awake; and affoards matter for strange dreames, &c. Hence it is, that one passing by a place, where a Man was slaine, or a Carcasse newly hid, is moved with feare & dread, because the Ayre in that place, being full of dreadfull species of Manslaughter, doth (being breathed in) move & trouble the Spirit of Man with the like species; for observe, that every thing that makes a suddain Impression, astonisheth Nature.<sup>105</sup>

*Of the Element or Triplicity of Water.*

There is so great a necessity of Water, that without it nothing can Live, noe Hearbe, Plant or Vegetable whatsoever, without the moystning of Water, can bud or branch forth; In it is the seminary virtue of all things, specially of Animals, whose seede is manifestly waterish. The Seedes of Trees and Plants, although they are earthy, yet notwithstanding, must of necessity be rotted in Water, before they can be fruitfull, whether they be imbibed with the moisture of the Earth, or with dew or [36v] Raine, or any other water that is put to them on purpose; Yea those productions that are made in & upon the Earth, are partly attributed to the very water, as is testified by sacred Writt where it saith, that the plants & Hearbs did not grow, because God had not caused it to Raine upon the Earth. Such is the efficacy of this Element, that spirituall Regeneration, cannot be done without it (as our Saviour Christ testified to Nicodemus). *In fine*, infinite are the Benefitts, & divers are the Uses hereof: For by its Virtue all things are generated, nourished & subsist, & are increased. It was the first of all Elements, & the most potent, because it had & still hath the mastery over all the rest; It swalloweth up the Earth, extinguisheth Flames, ascends on high, & by the shining fourth of the Cloudes, challengeth the Heavens for their own; the same falling down againe, becometh the Cause of all things that growth on Earth. To conclude, Very many are the Wonders, that are done by this Element of Water, as is testified by many ancient & curious Writers, & also by Scripture it selfe.<sup>106</sup>

Here we may plainly see, know & understand (together with what followeth in the ensuing Tables), that the Elements are the first of all things, & all things are of & according to them, & that they are in all things, & diffuse their virtues through all things.<sup>107</sup>

And as in the Originall & Exemplary World, all things are in all; so likewise in this Corporiall World, all things are in all.

<sup>105</sup> This section is adapted from OOP Book I chap. 6, "Of the wonderfull Natures of Water, Aire and Winds" (p. 14), as Ashmole notes in the margin.

<sup>106</sup> This section is adapted from OOP Book I chap. 6, (p. 11-12), as Ashmole notes in the margin.

<sup>107</sup> Adapted from the concluding sentence of OOP Book I chap. 7 (p. 20), as Ashmole notes in the margin.

For the Elements are not only in these inferior Bodies, but also in the Heavens, in Stars, in Devils, in Angels, & lastly in God, the maker & Original Example of all things, &c.

Elements therefore in the Exemplary World, are Ideas of things to be produced; in the Intelligences, distributed powers; in the Heavens, vertues; & in inferior Bodies, gross Formes.

To conclude: Note, In these Inferiour Bodies the foure Elements are accompanied with much gross matter; but in the Heavens they are (according to their natures & vertues) after a Cœstiali, pure, [37r]<sup>108</sup> and more excellent manner, then in Sublunary things: For the firmness of the Cœlestiali Earth, is there without the grossness of Water, & the agility of the Aier, without running over its Bounds, & the heate of Fire without burning, only shyning, giving lyfe to all things by its heate.

Now therefore, that the Elements are to be found every where, & in all things, noe man can deny, first in these inferior Bodies, feculent & gross, Secondly in Cœlestials, more pure & clear, Thirdly in Supercœlestials Living & in all Respects Blessed.<sup>109</sup>

There are likewise 4 Cardinall Windes, defluxing from the foure Corners, thus named & qualified:

Eurus, or the East Winde, is ravenous, cloudy & waterish.

Notus, or the South Winde, is cloudy, moist, warme & sickly, & is called the Butler of the Rains.

Zephirus, or the West Winde, is soft, blowing with a pleasant Gale, it is cold & moist, removing the effecte of Winter, bringing forth Branches, & pleasant Flowers.

Boreas, or the North Wind, is fierce, roaring, discussing Cloudes, makes the Aier serene, & bindes the Water with Froste.<sup>110</sup>

[37v] A Table, shewing how all things, both Cœstiali, Terretraill & Infernall, in their respective qualities, Natures & degrees, symbolize with the 4 Triplicities or Elements:<sup>111</sup>

<sup>108</sup> There is a cancelled passage of seven lines in another hand at the top of fol. 37r. The sheet which begins there was originally attached after what is now fol. 99 of Sloane MS. 3825, as both the text and the number at the top centre of the page continue directly from S5 fol. 99v, and the cancelled text is in the same hand as the bulk of S5 fol. 3-99.

<sup>109</sup> From "And as in the Originall & Exemplary World" to here, this section is extracted and rearranged from OOP Book I, chap. 8, "How the Elements are in the Heavens, in Stars, in Divils, in Angels, and lastly in God himself" (pp. 20-22).

<sup>110</sup> From OOP Book I chap. 6, passage describing the winds, (pp. 16-18.)

<sup>111</sup> Except where noted this is drawn from Agrippa's table of the scale of the number 4 in OOP Book II ch. 7 (pp. 186-7). The use of "Triplicities" to refer to the elements probably alludes to Agrippa's somewhat cryptic ch. 4 of Book I, "Of a three-fold consideration of the Elements" which distinguishes for each element, "the pure Elements," "Elements that are compounded, changeable, and impure, yet such as may be reduced to their pure simplicity" and "those Elements, which originally and of themselves are not Elements, but are twice compounded, various, and chageable one into the other." It is not entirely clear whether, or if so how, this threefold division connects with the general three-worlds scheme (natural, celestial, divine / supercelestial) after which *De occulta philosophia* is structured.

<i>The four Elements.</i>	<i>Fire.</i>	<i>Earth.</i>	<i>Ayr.</i>	<i>Water.</i>
Their Natures & Qualities.	Hot & Dry.	Cold & Dry.	Hot & Moist.	Cold & Moist.
Angells ruling the Elements.	Seruph.	Ariel.	Cherub.	Tharsis.
Parts answering in the Heavenly Angels & blessed Intelligences <sup>112</sup>	By the shining splendor, & glorious lustre of their Love.	By the stability of their Essence in which is the steadfast Seate of God	By the subtilty of their Breath	By reason of their Mercy & piety, which is a watery cleansing vertue.
Of the Cœlestiall Hierarchies or Orders of Angells. <sup>113</sup>	Seraphim, Potestates, Vertues,	Cherubim, Angells.	Dominations, Principalities.	Thrones, Archangels.
Of the Stars & Planetes.	Mars & Sol.	Luna & the fixt stars	Jupiter & Venus	Saturn & Mercury
Of the 12 Zodiacall Constellations, or Cœlestiall Signs.	Aries, Leo, Sgittarius	Taurus, Virgo, Capricorns	Gemini, Libra, Aquary	Cancer, Scorpio, Piscis
Of the 4 Angles or Corners of the World	East	South	West	North
Of the four Windes	Eurus or Auster	Notus	Zephyrus	Boreas
Of the 4 Princes of the good Angels, that are set over the four Angles of the World & the Windes.	Michael	Uriel or Nariel	Raphael	Gabriel
Of the 4 Princes of the Evill Spirits, set over the 4 Angles of the World, & the Winds, offensive to & troubling the Aire.	Uriens or Oriens or Ories.	Amaymon or Mayrary	Paymon, or Paynim,	Egin, or Egym.
Their Names according to the Hebrew —— is	Samael.	Mahazael.	Azazzel.	Azael.
Of the 4 Infernall Rivers.	Phlegeton.	Acheron.	Cocytus.	Styx.
In the Qualities of the four Cœlestiall Elements.	Light	Solidity.	Diaphanousnes or Clearnes	Agility.
In the power of Mans Soule.	The Intellect.	Sense.	Reason.	Fancy.
In the Elementary part of Man.	The Minde.	The Body.	The Spirit.	Thee Soule.
In the Actions & Motions of Man, in usuall Gestures, &c. <sup>114</sup>	A fierce, quick & angry disposition.	A slow, firm, & ponderous Motion.	Cheerfulnes & an amiable disposition.	Fearefulnes, sluggishness & remisnes in working.
In the powers or parts of Animalls.	Vitall Spirit.	Bones.	Flesh.	Humours.
In humours of the the Body Pollitick.	Yellow Choller.	Black Choller, or Melancholly.	The Blood.	Flegme.
In the four fold Spirit.	Animall.	Naturall.	Vital.	Generative.
In the four kindes of Animalls.	Walking.	Creeping.	Flying.	Swimming.

[38v]

<sup>112</sup> These are not in the table in Book II, but are mentioned in Book I cap. 8 (p. 21). In the MS. images I was working from, some text in the last column was lost in the gutter, and has been conjecturally restored from said source.

<sup>113</sup> These are the attributions are given by Agrrippa, in Book I (*loc. cit.*). In the table of the scale of the number 4, Seraphim, Cherubim & Thrones are referred to Fire, Dominations, Powers and Virtues to Air, Principalities, Angels and Archangels to Water and three divisions of the Blessed Souls to Earth.

<sup>114</sup> This row is drawn from Book I, chap. 7 (pp. 19–20); the table in Book II has a row “Four manners of Complexion: Fire: Violence; Earth: Slowness; Air: Nimbleness; Water: Dulness.”

The foure Morall Virtues.	Justice.	Fortitude.	Temperance.	Prudence.
The foure Judicial Powers.	Faith.	Experience.	Science.	Opinion.
The four Annual Seasons.	Summer.	Autume.	Spring.	Winter.
Of Animalls.	Salamander, Crikit, Estrich, Lyon.	Moles, Wormes, & all small creeping things.	The Camelion & all flying Fowles.	Fishes, &c.
Of Vegetables <sup>115</sup>	Seeds, because of the multiplying Spirit.	Rootes by reason of their thicknes.	Flowers because of their Subtilty.	Leaves because of their Juyce.
Of Mineralls or Mettals	Gold & Iron.	Lead & Silver	Copper & Tynn.	Quick-Silver.

Having briefly treated of the Natures & Qualities of the foure Elements or Triplicities, & how they are found everywhere, & in all things, & how all are oft & according to them, & diffuse their vertiues through all things; Wee will now touch at some occult vertues, & how they are infused into severall kindes of Things by Ideas, though the helpe of the Soule of the World, & the Raies & Influences of the Stars; which is very necessary to be first understood, before wee enter upon the ensuing Treatise.

There is nothing of such transcending vertue ~~~~ See p. 23.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>115</sup> This row and the previous are drawn from OOP, Book I, ch. 7 (p. 19).

<sup>116</sup> Fol. 14r by current foliation.

*Excerpt E.<sup>117</sup>*

[38v] NOW HAVING briefly touched at some materiall Matters of Concernement, very fit to be knowne & understood; We shall in the next place treate of Angells & Spirits, Cœlestiall, Terrestriall & Infernall, their severall & respective Hierarchies, Orders, Offices & natures, & teaching the good use that a sober & qualified Magician may make of all, and how the assistance & Ministery of good Angells, may be obteyned by us, & the maligne, Illusions, Temptations & Assaults of the Evill Spirits repelled, shunned & overcome by us. Likewise necessary Instructions and brief Rules, teaching how to attaine thereunto, as hath been approved by auncient & modern Philosophers, who have been great Inquisitors and curious Searchers into Angelicall, Cœlestiall & Terrestriall occult Misteries & Sciences; without falling from the originall, true & christian Faith, or the orthodox, theological construction thereof, or in the least estranged from, or being disobedient to the divine Power of God, or any Civill Lawes, or Governments of Common Wealths.<sup>118</sup>

*Of the Cœlestiall Angells & blessed Intelligences, &c.: Their severall Derivations, Distinctions, Names, Natures, Qualities, Orders, Offices, Hierarchies and Degrass, as they are set over & governe all things, &c: (according to the Omnipotent Decress of the originall & first Cause) & of the Divine Numerations of God, called Attributes, of the ten Sephiroths, & the Ten most sacred Names of God that Rule them, & the significations & interpretations thereof; Of the Seventy-two Angells, that bear the Name of God in Banners, Schemhamphoras; and severall things worthy of Noate, &c.<sup>119</sup>*

An Angell is an Intelligible Substance ~~~~ &c: p. 27.

<sup>117</sup> Insertion point: after “but for brevity sake here omitted” (fol. 16r / p. 27). This, in any case, seems to simply be an extended connecting passage leading into the chapter “Of Angels and Spirits” that follows.

<sup>118</sup> The use of this term suggests this passage was written in or shortly after the period 1649–1660: England was declared “a Commonwealth” in May 1649 after the Parliamentarian victory in the Civil War; for much of the period, this practically meant a military dictatorship. In 1660, following the death of Oliver Cromwell and the inability of his son Richard to gain the support of the military after assuming the title of Lord Protector, the country returned to being a monarchy under Charles II.

<sup>119</sup> This is a variant form of the preamble to the section “Of Angels & Spirits” that begins immediately after the insertion mark for section E.

*Excerpt F.<sup>120</sup>*

[39r] AS CONCERNING the Animasticall Order, or Choire of blessed Souls, or Heroes, various is the opinion of the Learned thereof; some suppose they were so called, either because for the meaness of their desert, they are not iudged worthy of Heaven, nor yet are accounted Terrestriall for the Reverence of Grace; or because they being eminent in this lyfe, for Divine Vertues & Benifits, then after this mortall Man is put off, are translated into the Choire of blessed Souls,<sup>121</sup> always providing for mortall Men the same Vertues & Benifits, which they long since had in this Lyfe: Or because they were procreated, partly from the seede of the Superiours, who are thought to be begotten, by the mixture of Angells with Men,<sup>122</sup> & so obteyne a certain middle Nature, that they are said to be neither Angells nor Men. And it is generally believed that Merlynn the British Prophet, was the son of an Angell,<sup>123</sup> and borne of a Virgin, and it is imagined that Plato (the Prince of Wisdome) was borne of a Virgin impregnated by a Phantasme of Apollo, & many such relations of the like manner, there are in the writing of the Auncients, who, together with some modern Philosophers doe aver, That those Heroes have noe less power in dispoising & ruling these inferior things, then the Angells;<sup>124</sup> & have their Offices & Dignities distributed to them; Therefore hath there been Temples, Altars, Images, Sacrifices, Vowes, & other Religious Mysteries dedicated to them, and their Names have been Invocated, have had Divine & Magicall Vertues, for the accomplishing & effecting some Miraculous Operations, as hath been tried by the name of Apollonius Tyaneus, & others, &c: now the opinion & beleife of the Roman Catholics (the most learned in Divine & Cœlestiall Mysteries, in this modern Age) hereof is this.<sup>125</sup> As concerning our holy Heroes (say they) wee beleive they excel in Divine power & (as the Jewish Theologians testifie) that the Soul of the Meschihæ (that is Jesus Christ, our only Lord & Saviour) doth rule over them; who by divers of his Saints, (as it were by Members fitted for this purpose) doth administer and distribute divers Guifts of his Grace, in these inferior parts, & every [39v] one of the Saints doe enjoy a peculiar Guift of working; and they being implored by us with divers prayer & supplications (according to the manifold distribution of Grace) every one doth most freely bestow their Guifts, Benifites & Graces on us, more readily & abundantly then the Angelicall Powers, by so much as they are nigher to us, & more allied to our Natures, [as they who in tymes past, were both Men,

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<sup>120</sup> Insertion point: after “who was also the Ruler of Moses,” fol. 28r (p. 51).

<sup>121</sup> Agrippa: “into the quire of the blessed gods” (p. 453).

<sup>122</sup> Agrippa: “mixture of Gods or Angels with men” (*loc. cit.*).

<sup>123</sup> Agrippa: “son of a Spirit” (*loc. cit.*).

<sup>124</sup> Agrippa: “than the Gods” (p. 454).

<sup>125</sup> From “now the opinion & beleife” to here is an interpolation into Agrippa’s text, as is the parenthetical “say they” in the next sentence.

& suffered humaine Afflictions & Infirmities,] <sup>126</sup> and their Names, Degrees & Offices are also more knowne unto us. Out of the number of these almost infinite, there are 12 chiefs and they are twelve Apostles of Christ, who (as saith Evangelicall Trtuh) sit upon twelve Thrones, iudging the 12 Tribes of Israell; & in the Revelations are said to be distributed upon twelve Foundations, at the twelve Gates of the heavenly Citty, & are Seated in the twelve precious Stones, unto whome the whole World is distrubted.<sup>127</sup> After these are the Seaventy two Disciples of Christ, who also ruleth so many Quinaries of Heaven, Tribes, People, Nations, & Tongues. After whome is an innumerable multitude of Saints, who have received divers Offices, Places & Nations into their Protection and Patronage, whose most apparent Miracles, at the Faitfull Prayers of those that Invoke them, Experience hath plainly manifested, &c.<sup>128</sup>

Of which Order of Heroes aforesaid, we can say little or nothing of, till Tyme hath produced some further satisfaction & granted us new experience therein, then as yet we have attained, having hitherto not practically insisted on, nor handled any Consideration of this Subject, it being in our apprehension so Mystical &c: that our understanding thereof aright, is not at present capable of; wherefore we shall wave any further treating thereof here, & come to discourse of the Nyne foregoing Hierarchies, their severall Divisions & Constructions, & what divine Guifts, Man receiveth therefrom, & from the Intelligences & Stars, & how Man is likewise degraded from those Cœlestiall Benefits, & deprived of them, &c.

Now we are to shew forth, &c. ~~~~ see p: 51.

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<sup>126</sup> This clause is enclosed in square brackets in the MS., where it appeared following “[...] are also more knowne unto us.” It was probably displaced by copyist eye-skip at some stage; in Agrippa (*loc. cit.*) it appears following “more allied to our natures.”

<sup>127</sup> At this point in Agrippa (pp. 454–455) are listed the names of the twelve Apostles in Hebrew, Romanized Hebrew and English.

<sup>128</sup> Up to here is quoted or paraphrased (with some significant verbal changes) from OOP Book III chap. 33, “Of the Animasticall order, and the Heroes” (pp. 453–455), as noted by Ashmole in the margin at the start of the section. The following paragraph is connecting text.

*Excerpt G.*<sup>129</sup>

[40r] HAVING briefly Treated of the Cœlestiall Hierarchies, & of the Ruling Intelligences in each Orb & Spherare; wee must also understand, that although the<sup>130</sup> blessed Intelligences are especially appointed for the Divine Worship & service of God, yet notwithstanding they have also the Government of every Heaven & Star; And as you see there are as many Hierarchies, Orders & Offices of the good Angells as there are Heavens, or Cœlestiall Spheares; and as the Stars are divided according to the nature of the Spheares, & the particular Intelligences Star (or Planet) governing it, as they rule themselves & Sheares, are Saturnine; Joviall, Martiall, Solar, Veneriall, Mercuriall & Lunar (as the learned in Astrologie affirme) although (I say) there is but one ruling Intelligence assigned to each particular Orbe or Spheare, yet seeing the every star, hath its proper & different power, nature, virtue, Office & Influence; so also hath every Star its particular ruling Intelligence, whereby it confirmeth power & operation: soe that as the Stars are innumerable, so also are the Legions of the Cœlestiall Angells, as experience doth abundantly testifie.

Astrologicans say, that there are seaven Planets called erratik or wandring Stars in the Heavens, & they are thus named, & all known by these Characters.

♃ Saturne.	♄ Jupiter	♂ Mars	☉ the Sun	♀ Venus	☿ Mercury	☽ Moone.
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There are also twelve Signs in the Zodiack, through which the Seaven Planets move , & in which they celebrate their severall Aspects, & wherein they have Fortitudes & Debilities, as is further explained in the Astrologicall Tracte foregoing, & they are thus Nominated, and distinguished by the following Characters.

♈	♉	♊	♋	♌	♍	♎	♏	♐	♑	♒	♓
Aries.	Taurus.	Gemini, Cancer.	Leo.	Virgo.	Libra.	Scorpio.	Sagittarius.	Capricorn.	Aquarius.	Pisces	

There are also foure Elements or Triplities, which these twelve signes are divided into, & are accordingly governed day & night by the seven planets, as herere you see, & they are Fire, Earth, Air, Water.

$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{♈} & \text{♉} & \text{♐} \\ \text{Are of the Fiery Trigon,} & & \\ & \text{& is governed in the} & \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Day} \\ \text{Night} \end{array} \right\} & \text{by} & \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{☉} \\ \text{♄} \end{array} \right\} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{♉} & \text{♍} & \text{♓} \\ \text{Are of the Earth Triplicity,} & & \\ & \text{& is governed in the the} & \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Day} \\ \text{Night} \end{array} \right\} & \text{by} & \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{♀} \\ \text{☉} \end{array} \right\} \end{array}$
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[40v]

<sup>129</sup> Insertion point: after “who assist the Ruler of the whole Earth.” fol. 33r (p. 61).

<sup>130</sup> In margin: “Lib: 3: [c:] 16. [p.] 391.”

$\text{II}$ $\Delta$ $\approx$ Are of the Aiery Trigon, & is governed in the $\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Day} \\ \text{Night} \end{array} \}$ by $\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{☿} \\ \text{♀} \end{array} \}$	$\text{☽}$ $\text{☽}$ $\text{☽}$ Are of the Watery Triplicity, & is governed in the the $\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Day} \\ \text{Night} \end{array} \}$ by $\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{♂} \\ \text{♂} \end{array} \}$
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There are likewise four Angles, Quarters, Parts, or Corners, answering to the foure Elements or Triplicities; & to the parts of Heaven & Earth, being so dividved, thus named.

East,

South,

West,

North.

The Moon (being a generall significatrix in all things), both Magically & Astrologically, as all the Ancients, & all our Phisitians doe confidently & experimentally affirme, for that she conveyeth through er Spheare, all the Influxes of the Superiours & the Inferiours, as is sufficiently & apparently knowne by the common Observation of all Men (or at least, by as many as rationally understand themselves) in the Doctrin of Elections, & in the most excellent use of Phisick & Philosophy) she passing constantly through the 12 Cœlestiall Signes, in the space of eight & twenty daies or thereabouts, hath therein fixed in the eight Spheare, eight & twenty Mansions, which by the<sup>131</sup> Magicians of India & the auncient Arabian & Chaldean Astrologians, have diverse Names & Properties attributed to them, through which, whilst the Moone passeth, it obteyneth various & accordingly respective Powers & Vertues; and every Mansion conteyneth twelve degrees, 51 Minutes & almost 26 Seconds; And therefore since they Commence from the first degree of Aries, & soe in order until the last, we shall shew you the beginnings thereof & their severall Names.

<sup>131</sup> In margin: “lib 2. c. 33.” (OOP p. 285-289). The table is derived from the text of that chapter, the numbers give the *end point* of each “Mansion.”

[41r]

No.	Sign.	Deg.	Min.	Sec.	Names of each Mansion
1.	♈	12°	51'	25"	Alnath
2.	♉	25°	42'	51"	Allothaim or Albochan.
3.	♊	8°	34'	17"	Achoamazon or Athoray.
4.	♊	21°	25'	40"	Aldebaran or Aldelamen
5.	♊	4°	17'	9"	Alchatay or Albachay.
6.	♊	17°	11'	34"	Alhanna or Alchaya.
7.	♋	0°	0'	0"	Aldimiach or Alarzach.
8.	♋	12°	51'	25"	Alnaza or Anatrachya.
9.	♋	25°	42'	51"	Archaam or Archaph.
10.	♌	8°	34'	17"	Algelioche or Algebh.
11.	♌	21°	25'	40"	Azobra or Ardad.
12.	♍	4°	17'	9"	Alzarpha or Azarpha.
13.	♍	17°	11'	34"	Alhaire.
14.	♎	0°	0'	0"	Achureth or Arimet, or Azimeth or Alhumech or Alcheymech.
15.	♎	12°	51'	25"	Agrapha or Algarpha.
16.	♎	25°	42'	51"	Azubene or Ahubene.
17.	♏	8°	34'	17"	Alchil.
18.	♏	21°	25'	40"	Alchas or Altob.
19.	♐	4°	17'	9"	Allatha or Achala. <sup>132</sup>
20.	♐	17°	11'	34"	Abnahaya.
21.	♑	0°	0'	0"	Abeda or Abeldach.
22.	♑	12°	51'	25"	Sadabacha or Zodeboluch, or Zandeldena.
23.	♑	25°	42'	51"	Zabadola or Zobrach.
24.	♒	8°	34'	17"	Sadabath or Chadezoad.
25.	♒	21°	25'	40"	Sadalabra or Sadalachia.
26.	♓	4°	17'	9"	Alpharg or Phragal Mocaden.
27.	♓	17°	11'	34"	Alcharya or Alhalgalmoad.
28.	♓	30°	0'	0"	Albotham or Alchalcy.

[41v] The Compass of the Circle of the Zodiack, is accounted by the Astrologians to conteyne 365<sup>133</sup> Degrees, for that every Sign therein conteynes 30 Degrees & (as we said before) there are 12 Signes in the Zodiack, so that 12 tymes 30 make 360. And every Signe divided againe likewise particularly into three parts, results 12 tymes three,<sup>134</sup> which makes 36. The which are called Decans, or a division of Ten, & they are also governed by the seven Planets, and by the Astrologians are called the Faces of the Signs, as is elsewhere further explained, &c.

<sup>132</sup> "by others *Hycula* or *Axala*" (OOP p. 288).

<sup>133</sup> Thus in MS.

<sup>134</sup> In margin: "Lib: 3: c. 16: p. 391."

They are again divided into fifts, of which there is 6 in every signe, so that 12 tymes six resulte 72. The which are called Quinaries of Heaven.

Observe what a great communion there is with the numbers 12 & 72 & this harmony betwixt them; for as you see before, every signe divided into six parts, there results 72 fives, & soe many are the Names of God, & soe many were the Elders of the Synagogue, & Interpretations of the old Testament, & the Disciples of Christ, & so many are the languages, & the Tongues of Men & the Nations; Answerable to these are soe many manifest Joynts in Mans Body, whereof in every Finger & Toe there are three, which together with the 12 principall reckoned in the number twelve makes up 72. And every five is set over one Idiome with much efficacy, that the Astrologians & Phisiognomists can know from thence, from what Idiome very one ariseth.

Now we have briefly in Astromagicall Termes, given you a description & Difinition of the 7 Planets, the 12 Signs of the Zodiack, the 4 Elements, Trigons or Triplicities of the 4 Cœlestiall & Terrestriall Angles, of the foure Cardinall Windes, of the 28 Mansions of the Moone, of the 36 Decans and of the 72 Cœlestiall Quinaries what they are, & how knowne, & to be understood; Now seeing that (as we said before) to all & every of these, & to every Star, Asterism & Constellation, there is a ruling Angel or Intelligence, whereby the Influence thereof is conveyed to Inferiours, according to the holy & divine Will & degree of God, to his Honor & Glory, & the good of Man; Wee shall in the next place, give a description of the Intelligent Angells, their various denominations, & their severall degrees Orders & Offices, according to their Government aforesaid.

[42r] The Names of the seven President Angells, or Planetary Intelligences Governing the Cœlestiall Orbes, continually standing before the Face of the Omnipotent & divine Majestie, to whome is intrusted the disposing of all Cœlestiall & Terrestriall Things, as the Elementary Regions & Kingdoms of the Earth, & all things sublunary, regulating by a certain vissitude of Daies, Hours & Yeares, who by the Heavens, Starrs & Planets (as by Instruments) distributes the Cœlestiall Influences of the Superiours upon these Inferiours.

Names of the Cœlestiall Angels, &c: ~~~~ see p. 61.

*Excerpt H.*<sup>135</sup>

SOMEWHAT in a few words<sup>136</sup> we shall say, how possible it is for Man to attain the verball Coloquy with good Angells, notwithstanding we have a speciall Treatise writ thereof a little hereafter following, and although we could remove many Objections, tending to the impossibility thereof; as the fulfilling of the Law, the ceasing of Oracles, & when we shall looke for Signes, none shalbe given us, & that we have Moses, the Prophets, the Apostles, the holy Gospell, & other sacred Manualls & Commentations all which if we will not believe, we shall scarce believe Angells; & that those Angells which were sent to divers holy men & women, mentioned in the Old and New Testaments, is said by many of our Theologians to be the Mesiah; & many the like passages we could raise, & when we have soe done, could give an answer to them all; but in this place we shall not medle therewith, we shall treate of those Subjects in our foregoing Preface, preceding our Booke; we shall here only shew forth some of the most eminent *Inspirati* in holy Scripture, & a word or two of our opinion thereupon.

[42v]

The Angells that were sent to: <sup>137</sup>			
Moses,	Methratton.	Joseph & Mary the Mother of Christ,	Gabriel.
Adam,	Raziel.	Sem the son of Noah,	Jophiel.
Noah,	Zaphkiel.	Jacob,,	Peliel.
Abraham,	Zadkiel.	The wife of Manoah	Phadaël.
Sampson,	Samaël.	David.	Cerviel.
Solomon,	Michaël.	Ezekiel.	Hasmaël.
Isaac,	Raphaël.	Esdras,	Uriel.
Tobit iunior,		Elias,	Melhiel.
Joshua,	Gabriel.	Cenez,	Cerrel.
Daniel,			

This together with many others, mentioned in sacred Writt, which we could nominate, we could nominate, were inspired by the holy Revelations of Blessed Angells; & to say that all these Angells were the Messiah, in my opinion would be a mistake, in the literall Interpretation of the Text: and we doe very believe, that they were severall certain Misticall Types representing the coming of the Mesiah, as the contente of the old Testament abundantly shew forth, and as the Propheticall Doctrines of the aforesaid Holy men, recorded therein, doth plainly manifest, they speaking as they were inspired,

<sup>135</sup> Insertion point: after “who was also the Ruler of Moses,” fol. 28r (p. 51).

<sup>136</sup> The following diatribe runs to over five thousand words.

<sup>137</sup> The names are tablulated from OOP book III ch. 47 (p. 305). Most of these were already mentioned in the chapter of the *Janua* on the Nine orders of Angels (fol. 26r-28r, deriving from OOP book III ch. 10).

which noe Question proceeded from the immediate Decree of the Holy Trinity; to prove which we shall give an apparent Testimony.

There was neither any Learning nor Arte knowne to the Auncients, but what came first by Inspiration; Observe that place in Exodus Chap: 34. v. i. to the ii where God taught Bezaliel & Aholiah and all those that were intellectually qualified, to worke curiously in Gold, Silver & Brass, & other rare Arts & Hanicraft workmanship; Soe likewise David, from an illiterate Shephard became a Prophet; Soe also Solomon was inspired, & all prophesied of the coming of the Messiah Only, not that he was already come; It was only the Angell that was sent to them.

[43r] Can we say that any of the aforesaid Cœlestiall Messengers, that were sent to Moses, Adam, Noah, Solomon, Tobias, &c., were the Messiah, or that Christ was only an Angel, before he was borne of the Virgin Mary in the flesh, to ransome the World, no, they were only the Angells or heavenly Messengers, to fulfil Gods Will, Decrees & Command, as he should institute & appoint them; as is manifest in the Parable spake by our Saviour Christ in St. Matthew's Gospell Chap: 21. V: 33. to 40. God sends his Messengers, before he sends his Son. Therefore they were only Angells or Messengers, & not the Messias; and did inspire those holy Men, unto whom they were sent, in all knowledge & wisdom, & to foretell the coming of the Messias, &c. We could make out all these severall Types & Representations of Christ, in the old Testament (which we cannot say were Christ himself) as they were delivered by these Cœlestiall Messengers, to those holy men appointed by God, to reveale & make knowne his Lawes & Purposes to the World, & of the coming of the Messiah, but we shall Treate of that elsewhere in its proper place. Let it suffice now, that wee only tell you, what our Saviour saith in many places of the Gospell, Search the Scriptures (saith he) & see whether or noe, they doe not testifie & beare witness of mee. The Scriptures doth not testifie, that he was already come, or that he had been here before,<sup>138</sup> but that he was to come, & at that tyme he was come; not to one or two particular persons, in the forme of an Angell, or any other Cœlestiall Similitude; No, it was not his Office, he came to the lost Sheepe of the House of Israell, he came to seeke & to save that which was lost; He came in the Flesh, & lived accordingly (sin excepted) therein, to the apprehensions of those, who then lived & had seene him, &c: and wrought many Miracles to those who believed, to the astonishment of all Spectators, & People Wherfore he came, for you heare him complaine of nothing

<sup>138</sup> It is likely that the original compiler of the Deuteronomic History (*i.e.*, the narrative sections of Deuteronomy and the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings) initially considered Josaiah King of Judah to be the Messiah, but this was obscured by the later redaction of the final section of II Kings after the death of Josaiah, the reversal or failure of his religious policies and the humiliation and destruction of the kingdom in the ensuing decades. The idea of the Messiah, certainly in the pre-captivity period, and to an extent through to the period of Roman rule, was more of a king, metaphorically anointed by God, who would unite the nation, drive off whichever empire last turned it into a vassal state & restore general obedience to the laws of Yahweh, than any kind of divine incarnation.

more, than want of Faith, & whosoever would but believe, onto such was nothing impossible neither incredible. He lived upon this Earth [43v] 33 yeares or thereabouts, & that to fulfil the unalterable Degree of his Father & the Scriptures, which did only Typify & testifie of him; he permitted himself to be betrayed & apprehended, by a tumultuous company of crude & masterless Soldiers & Renegadoes, for saith Hee, are you come as against a Theife, think yee that I cannot have Legions of Angells to assist me, if it were not for fulfilling the Scripture & the Will of my Father,<sup>139</sup> and was crucified, put to death, & soe suffered in the Flesh, after many Scoffs, buffetings, scourging, and other vile abuses; after he was dead in the flesh, he was buried, according to the order of deceased mortals, & not kept above ground; he overcame Death & Hell, & the third day after he was interred, he rose from the dead, & continued upon the earth with his disciples, forty daies, & then was taken up into heaven, where he sitteth at the right hand of God, making continual Intercession, for as many as faithfully believe, & turne to God by him.

He was nothing at all specified of an Angell, but the Angell that appeared to him in the Garden to comfort him before he was betrayed, & the Angell that appeared to Mary Magdalene, & the other Mary, at the Sepulchre of Christ, when they went to visit the Sepulchre, & of the Angels that spake to his disciples, when he ascended into Heaven, and of some others in the new Testament, which we might as well say was this Messias, as those of the Old Testament. No, they were Angells only, & as soe to this day, & ever wilbe to the end of the World, & are drawn to converse, by those who are accordingly qualified, as we have mentioned elsewhere before. So that here you see a plain distinction between Christ & the Angells, the Messiah being the only Son of God, & the second person in the Trinity, & the Angells only Messengers or Agents, to perform the Will of God, according to his appointment & decree.

Can we thinke that the Angell that drove Adam & Eve out of Paradise, or the Angell that appeared unto Jacob in a Dream, Gen. 31. 10. 11. 12, or those Angells that met Jacob, Gen: 32. 1, or that Angell that delivered Jacob from all Evills, Gen. 49. 15. 16. Or that Angell that [44r] was sent to conduct the Elect of God, Exod: 23, 20. 21. Or that Angell mentioned Gen: 24. 7, or the Angell that was sent to Hagar, Gen: 16. 7. to the end, or the Angell that talked with Zacariah, Zeckh: 2. 3. Or (or) that Angel that smote & killed an hundred eighty five thousand Assyrians in the Camp of Ashur 2 Kings 19. 35, Isa. 37. 36. Or that Angell which God sent to Daniell Chap: 6. 22. & 10. 13. Or that Angell that God sent to conduct young Tobias &c: or the Angell that appeared to Joseph, Mat. 2. 13, or those Angells that ministered to Christ after his Temptation in the Wilderness, Math: 4: 11. Mar: 1. 13. Or that Angell that appeared to Zacharias, in the Temple of the Lord, Luke i. ii. Or the Angell that saluted the Virgin Mary, the Moster of Christ, Luke 3. 26.

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<sup>139</sup> There is an asterisk by this word in the MS., with another in the margin by it, but nothing else visible written in the margin.

&c. Or that Angell that appeared to the Shephards, at the Birth of Christ, & the rest of the Cœlestiall Hierarchies mentioned in Luke 2. v. 9 to 43 or those Angells soe frequently mentioned in the Apocalypse, or Revelation of St. John, or that Angell that comforted Christ in the Garden, Luke 22. 43. or those Angells that stood by the Apostles, at Christs Ascencion into Heaven. Acts 1. 10. 11. Or those Legions of Angels mentioned by our Saviour, Math. 26. 53. Or the Angel that appeared unto Baalam, Numb. 22. 31 unto 36. Or the Angell that appeared to Mary Magdalene &c. at the Sepulchre of Christ, at his Resurrection from the dead, Matt: 28. 2. 3. 4. 5. Mar: 16. 5. John 20. 12. 13. Or that Angell mentioned in the Epistle of St. Jude, ver: 3. All these with so many more Texts in Holy Scripture, alluding to the same sence & purpose; All these (I say) cannot be said to be the Messiah,<sup>140</sup> they are said to be Angells, & so are called & noe otherwise; Wittnes these Texts in holy Writt. See what the Kingly Prophet David saith, in Psalme 34. 7. & 91. 11, & 103. 20, & 104. 4. Heb: 1. 7. Mah: 19. 10. & in some other places, where you see what the Offices & duties of the Angells are, & that these are Angells, & ministering Spirits in the Heavens, & they are likewise ordained for the Glory of God, & the use of Man, being accordingly qualified; Wee reade not any thing in that old Testament, [44v] that these Angells should be a Messiah. There are other places that Typifie & represent the coming of the Messiah, which is clearly another thing, or another Subject. It cannot be said that Christ was an Angell, or took upon him the Office of an Angell, either before of after he came into the World; for as we said before, he is of the Godhead, & the second Person in the Trinity, & ever was so from the beginning, for we read in Gen: 1. 26. That when God created Man, he consulted the Godhead or Trinity,<sup>141</sup> purposing to make an excellent worke, above all the rest of the Creation; he consults not with Angells, for they were Created, & the works of his hands as well as inferior Creatures, & in the beginning somewhat inferior to man till he fell from his Allegiance &c.: by all which we clearly conceive, & probably conclude, that the aforesaid apparitions mentioned in the Scriptures, were Cœlestiall Angells, or Messengers, preceding the Messiah, &c. And if we grant all that our Theologians doe<sup>142</sup> infer hereupon, then is our opinion strengthened, as to our present Subject. That it is possible for a sober & qualified person to converse verbally with the Cœlestiall Angells, for if the Godhead it selfe, the second person in the sacred Trinity, was willing to serve Man, & appeare unto him, & converse with him, then certainly Angells may as they have done; & still does, at this present day,

<sup>140</sup> I am not sufficiently familiar with Christian theological debates in 17<sup>th</sup>-century England to comment on whether or not the position attacked in this rambling diatribe was ever seriously maintained. Sadly, it may be necessary to become such, as works like the present cannot be fully understood if treated in isolation from the social / cultural / religious context in which they were produced.

<sup>141</sup> There is nothing in Gen. I. that can reasonably be translated “Trinity.” The entire chapter consistently uses the “plural of majesty” for God.

<sup>142</sup> Written *sup. lin.*

as be experience we doe well know; & that they are no delusions, we shall clearly demonstrate in conclusion of this present Treatise concerning Angells & Spirits, &c.

But although we could insist further hereupon, yet wee shall not treat any more thereof in this place, All that wee shall say here in this place<sup>143</sup> at present is this:

That there was noe Art nor Science first found out by any Man but he had it imediately by the Inspiration, Dictation & Ministry of Angells; as we could instance in many undeniable Examples; but we shall only shew you one out of sacred Writ, & that is in Exodus 31. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. & Chap: 35. 8. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. And was not the Arke that God commanded Noah to build, the originall & first platform of Shipping? We could make mention of the improvement thereof, & of the Arte of Astronomy & Navigation, but we shall treat of that elsewhere.

[45r] Let it suffice now, that we plainly see, that many very rare Arts and Inventions there are in the World, & that they came to our Auncestors, by the ministering & revelation of the blessed Angells; & we have come to the knowledge thereof, by the Tradition of the Auncients, &c.

Now thus much let us take notice of, & observe by the way; that through Warrs (the cheife Engine of Ruine & destruction) Ignorance, Fire, suddaine mortality & many other Casualties, an infinite of the Learning & scripts of the Auncients, have been lost & destroyed; yet by the helpe of Angelicall ministry, restored againe to succeeding Ages. For if we may believe Scripture (which I suppose none can deny) God is the same God yesterday & forever; he is Alpha & Omega, his deccress is unalterable, & his promise the same, from the beginning to the end of the World, & shall continue unalterable from Generation to Generation; for God spared not his only begotten Son, & as he was borne in the Flesh, so he suffered in the Flesh, to fulfil the Decree of God the Father: &c:

Now then, if God soe loved the World, or Man, that he gave his only Son, the second person in the Trinity to be offered up a sacrifice to appease the wrath of his Father, & so became a Ransome for the Redemption of the World from Sin & Satan, for that God delighteth not in the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turne from his wickedness & live, & therefore he would not leave any thing undone, nor any means unattempted to bring us nearer to him, & to Contemplate his goodness to us, in giving us the command over all things, both Cœlestiall, Terrestriall, and Infernall (as we have further illustrated in the beginning of this Treatise) if Man (I say) be so excellent a Creation, & Ornament in Nature, & find such favours & benignities from Him, & be so precious his Sight; What thing is it that he may aske, that he cannot obteyne, if he cloath himself in the wedding Garment of Faith & humiliation, &c. See Heb: 11. Math 7. 7 8 & 17. 19. 20. 21. & 29. 19. 20. 21. 22. Marke 9. 23 & 11. 20. to 27. Luke 7. 7. & 11. 9. 10. & 17. 5. 6. John: 14. 11. 12. 13. 14. & 15. 7. 8. 16. 23. 24. Ephes. 6. 16. 17. 19. Phil. 2. 4.

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<sup>143</sup> "in this place" written *sup. lin.*

5. 6. Col: 1. 22. 23. 2 Cor. 13. 5. James 1. 3. 4. 5. 6. 1 John: 5. 14. 15. 2 Pet: 1. 4. Gal. 3. 6. 7. & many others, &c.

[45v] If it be soe that Man by obtaine any thing of God, if he aske it in Faith, in which, whosoever asked at any tyme, never departed away empty; then it is undoubtedly to be granted, that Man now, as well as in the primitive tymes, may have conversed with Angells, & by their Cœlestiall Ministry, may reedifie revive & repaire lost Science, & obtaine the wonderfull knowledge & understanding, of all Misticall & occult Secrets in nature (that remaine so yet unknowne to these later Ages) most admirable & beneficall to Man. Notwithstanding the fulfilling of the old Testament, & the decease of Oracles. For wee are positively of the beleife, that God loveth Man now, as well now as [ever he did, & is ready & willing to bestow the same benefites upon us, well as]<sup>144</sup> our forefathers, if we are accordingly qualified, & worthy the receiving thereof; for nothing impedites Gods blessings, but our unworthyness, &c.

Having briefly<sup>145</sup> touched on some eminent & remarkable places & Texte out of sacred Writt, & the probable Conjectures of some auncient Rabbis, & the Conclusions of Moderne Theologians thereupon, together with the more remarkable Approbations of some, who have consulted & conversed verbally with Angells, as we have more at large treated of elsewhere, leaving the Construction thereof to those who are more Theologically & Cabalistically conceited, with the Opinions of Tradition only; it is sufficient we have only hinted therat, & partly know the Misteries thereof &c.: But as wee cannot please the humours of all, soe let every one please themselves (as we have done) with what Reason best dictates them to, not swerving from the Divine Laws & Principles, &c: & what we have said, we have said; having omitted several other places of holy writ, mentioning the Apparition of Angells, unto the Servants of God, who walked in his Lawes & kept his Statutes & Ordinances, as in Gen: 18. 2. & 19. 1. 15. & 22. 11 & truly (as we said before) I know no reason why man now as formerly may not receive the like benefits, if he walke in those paths of Righteousness his Forefathers walked in (notwithstanding the decease of Oracles, &c.) for there is ne decease or decrease of Gods Love & Goodness to [46r] Man, though man decreaseth in duty to God, God is to be found, of all those that seeke him, & will deny nothing that Man can ask of him, (be it what it will &c.) if he be worthy to receive such benefits, & is capable of making good use thereof &c.: & for this it sufficeth here &c.

Yet one thing we may not omit, as a matter of Principall Contentment and being fit to be knowne, & understood, & that is this, &c.:

In all the Scriptures we read, that Angells appeared in the Similitudes of Man in white Rayment & many tymes for that reason, were taken for men, (& called Men of God)

<sup>144</sup> Words in square brackets written along the edge of the page in the margin.

<sup>145</sup> You keep using that word. I do not think it means what you think it means.

until they were discovered, in or neare their deparature from those unto whome they appeared, after they had fulfilled the will of God, & delivered their message; & then they would usually say, That they had seene an Angell of the Lord (but before he was discovered or knowne to be an Angell, he was seemingly a Man, in forme & behaviour, & so thought to be, &c.) But we read not of any Angell therein, that did ever or usually appeare, in the shape or similitude of a Woman. Now for the reason, that some of our Modern Magitians, have had appearances of Angells in female shape, & forms, being contrary to the Theologicall Construction of those, who were called or thought to be good Angells, insomuch that some very Learned in this Art, have delivered their opinion thereof, and John Trithem the Abot of Spanheim, the learned Father & Master in this Art, in his little Book *Octo Questionum Maximiliani Cæseris*,<sup>146</sup> Quest. 6 saith, That never any good Angell was read of, to have appeared in the forme of a Woman, &c. & more to the like purpose, &c.

This opinion of his struck such a deep impression of belief, in later Students in this Art, that it beft contest thereupon; for seeing Angells more frequently & familiarly appeare, in Feminine forme than in Masculine forme, together with the great scandal, that that been throwne upon this incomparable, matchless & protoplast Art, by the Ignorant mistakes, false, malicious & misconstrive opinions, and interpretations thereof by Scismaticall Sectaries, & many others, who carpe at & inveigh all things they understand not, nor are accustomed to (& well may such scandalize Arts & Sciences & calumniate the Students therein, who kick, spurne at and [46v] endeavour to overthrow Kingdomes & Commonwealths, and the Governments thereof: both Ecclesiasticall & Civill, except they have a principall Office, Interest or Benefit therein, themselves) calling some Atheisticall, Hereticall & Malignant, others Diabolicall, delusive & deceiptfull, prophaine, superstitious & what not: when as indeed the contemners, revilers, & abusers of Art<sup>147</sup> are worse themselves, then what they style Arte & Artists to be, &c: as we could clearly make out to the shame & silencing of all such, who either impudently this Art, or blasphemously the works of God in Nature, &c., oppose or deny; but we shall mention this elsewhere before: & shall leave such to the reward of God, according to his Judgments &c: but we shall to our matter in hand,

Wee shall now dissipate the former mistake of Trithemius, and remove the doubte of some others, who I am confident, though resolved mistakes have erred, & soe

<sup>146</sup> Johannes Trithemius, *Liber octo questionum, quas illi dissolvendas proposuit Maximilianus Cæsar* (responses to a series of questions on theological and other matters which had been posed to the author by the Emperor, first printed in 1515). In the course of answering question 6, on the power of witches (*De potestate maleficarum*), the abbot of Spanheim referred to classical and German legends of water-spirits in female form (Naiads, Nereids, *Wasserfrauen*), then continued, “Sancti autem Angeli quoniam affectione nunquam variantur uniformiter semper apparent in forma virili. Nusquam enim legimus scriptus, quod bonus spiritus in forma fit visus muliebri aut bestiæ cuiuscunq;e, sed semper in specie virili.”

<sup>147</sup> “of Art” written *sup. lin.*

consequently missed their Expectations, & lost their purpose, because they would not confide in Effeminate Appearances, iudging them according to the foregoing report, Trithemius & some other gave of them: Who being so mistaken and dismissed without any further Question made threof, or search therein, stiled this Art Ridiculous, Diabolicall, Useless & altogether unfit for Man to practise, for that it was a strong delusion, and superstitious & hereticall & impossible for any good to come thereof or to have any satisfaction therein, or to learne any thing therefrom, of good Ministry, Admonitions or directory Rules or rudiments of Learning, binding to the disclosing of any secret in Nature, or the repairing of any lost Science or Art, that that been a long tyme buried in oblivion, nor any other benefit that man may receive, but illusions only, and many the like aspersions hath been cast upon this profound, cœlestiall & unparalleled Art. But such who give this censorious report of this Art, do report it of the Art only, not of themselves; for if there be any defect, [47r] without doubt it is in themselves (caused by their owne Ignorance, for want of better Judgment therein, thereby wanting merit & not being worthy thereof) not in the Art. This we doe confess, that there may be an abuse in all things, & that some men may assume to themselves, more then they ought to doe, & become superstitious out of mere Curiousity; & others may become Idolatrous for want of Faith & better Judgment, & some others Atheisticall, Ridicuolus & Blasphemous, in giving that to Angells, Art & their owne abilities presuming thereupon, which is due to God only; others there by who converse with Infernall & other sorts of wicked & evill Spirits, for the fulfilling of their owne base, lewde, ungodly & unworthy & uniust ends & worldly lucre, when as we should use them as our Vassalls only, & keepe them in bonds & subjection, denyhing their Councells as wholesome Doctrine, using them according to their Offices only, that is to restraine them from doing Evill; which that is a qualified Magitian knoweth how to doe, & what is meant by it, he well understandeth &c: All which is as bad as bad may or can be, or be said to be, yet I cannot say it is worse, than for any one ignorantly, unadvisedly, ignominiously, scurrilously, traditionally only, or any otherwise maliciously to scandalise, asperce & condemne, what they cannot attaine unto, nor doe not understand: for he who shall soe doe, doth (in my Opinion) rob God of his honor, as those who shall make use of & give his Glory, Praise & Honor (due to him only) to other powers & interests being inferior; & the work of his, & mens hands; or those who fall into dispaire, which is as much as to say, That they think God is not sufficient, to give us any such Benefits, or will heare us when we call upon him, or that he hath layd aside his mercies to Man, or that he hath forgot his promises, or that there is noe truth in the Cœlestiall Hierarchies, & Choirs or Legions of good Angells now as formerly, nor in any Arte & Sciences, which there is noe man, but will conclude to be as ridiculous & absurd, as all the rest, if not more.

[47v] How then can any dare or presume to condemne this Art, or other Arte or Naturall Sciences, when as there nothing is found amiss therein? If there by any defect, it is in Man, not in Art: In all the Scriptures we shall finde, that God & our Saviour Christ, complaine of nothing more in Man, then Pride, Presumption, Ambition, Perversnes, want of Faith & Obedience to his Lawes & divine Institutions; God made, constituted & Ordained, the services of all Angells, &c. & Sublunary Creatures, in a wonderfull Order, to & for the use, behoofe & good of Man, & Man for himself; to laud & magnifie him as an more excellent Ornament then all the worke of his Creation besides, until Man (being seduced) through Ambition, thinking to be as wise & good as God himself, by eating the forbidden fruit (being a great presumption to doe, when God had warned him to the contrary, before which amongst all the rest of the Creation, God hath set apart nothing for himselfe, as an Edict to the Man, but that one Tree, which wee now adaiers think, were but a very easy Commandment to keepe, & a very great matter to breake it, considering the State & Condition that Man was then in) & soe you see (though a small Justification both to keepe or breake) how hard a matter it proved in both: The breach of which Commandment caused Man to become more base & vile, then the Beasts of the fields, & from the best, became the worst ornament of the whole Creation, &c.

Here you see the defect clearly lyes in Man, not in Nature or Art, nor in any Creatures, or other thing; tis Man that falls, the divine Instituions & Inevitable decrees of God stands, & all Arts & Sciences Also, & will doe to the end of the World, notwithstanding all the superfluous Batteries, & malignant Oppositions to the contrary.

Let us now behold all these malicious detractors, like the Blind leading the Blind, till they all fall into the ditch of gross Errors, & there lye wallowing in the Myre of Absurdity, where we shall leave them belcing out stinking Nonsense, against most apparent Truthes, until they are choakt as well as blinded, &c.

[48r] Now, before you endeavour to take the Mote out of the Eye of Art, I pray you take the Beame out of the Eye of your owne Ingiorance, and think not that Pearls are to be cast to Swine, or Diamonds to Dunghill Cocks, that such Guifts wilbe given to you to deride, or make a worldy Ostentation or Lucre thereof. No, if you reade them with humility, admiration, gravity, or other suck like solid Observations, as becometh a sober & qualified Christian to doe; & when you have so done, sit downe & consider, as the Bereans did at the doctrine of Paul, in Acts 17. 11. Not condemning anything that doth not at all deserve it. And so for the subject we have partly said.

Wee shall put a period to this part of the Isagoge, in answer to what Trithemius asserteth in his foresaid Method, concerning the Appearance of Angells (vitz) That never any good Angell was read of, to have appeared in the forme of a Woman.

A most excellent & descreet Magitian<sup>148</sup> living since him, though peradventure not altogether so well learned, yet every whit as pious, Serious, Qualified & endowed with as good parts as his, or any one, that hath lived since, unto this present tyme, & now it is June 1649,<sup>149</sup> who before he would stand to the single Testimony of Tradition only, was resolves (if possibly it might be) to know the certain and apparent truth thereof, from those, whome he thought & knew, could better informe him, having had severall shewes & Operations. And most or all their appearances, that convened before him, were usually or for the major part Feminine<sup>150</sup>—This Gentleman being at a certain tyme in his Study upon Action, & being in Conference with the Angell called Galvah, he makes demand of the aforesaid Question unto him or her, for she appeared unto him, in the similitude of a Maid or Virgin;<sup>151</sup> & she returns him this Answer,

*The Angel Galvah's Reply to the Magitian.*<sup>152</sup>

It is evident that the Angells of God, are incomprehensible to those that are their Inferiours; for the higher Order is incomparable to God, & by degrees those that are Inferiours, are Incomparable to them.

[48v] It followeth therefore, That in respect of that Degree in Angells, things are Incomprehensible.

Angells of themselves neither are Man nor Woman, therefore they doe doe take Formes (not according to any Proportion in Imagination, but) according to the decrees<sup>153</sup> & applicable Will both of him, & of the thing wherein they are Administrators. For they are all Spirits, ministering the Will of God: and unto whome, unto every thing within the compas of Nature, & the use of Man. It followeth therefore, considering that they minister not of themselves, that they should minister in that unsearchable Forme, within the which their executions are limited.

<sup>148</sup> John Dee (1527-1609).

<sup>149</sup> This date is not credible. As Ashmole observed, much of the discourse in these sections is drawn out of Dr. French's translation (pub. 1651) of the *De Occulta Philosophia* of Cornelius Agrippa; and while it is not *a priori* impossible that material from this circulated in manuscript prior to its publication (getting a work of that length & complexity translated, set up in type, printed, bound & distributed is not something that happens overnight), the extent of the borrowings and the perpetuation (in other parts of the *Janua*) of errors in the printed edition give a *terminus a quo* for the work; and that's before we consider John Dee's spirit diaries.

<sup>150</sup> This is almost arguable if one only considers the records covered in *T&FR*, and that only because Galvah first appears very near the start of that record (p. 10); prior to her the Angels seen by Kelly include *Madimi* and *Ath* of the *Filiae Filiarum lucis* (both female), *Murifri* (male), and an unnamed “voyce,” later said to belong to “one [...] much like *Michael*.” *Madimi* & *Ath* got more shew-stone time than the other two.

<sup>151</sup> Kelly described her as “a Woman, like an old mayde, in red petticoate, and with a red silk upper bodyes: her hair rolled about like a Scottish woman: The same being yellow.” (Cotton Appendix XLVI part i. fol. 8r; *T&FR* p. 10).

<sup>152</sup> In margin, “*<illegible>* p. 33” (the first ‘3’ possibly altered to ‘1’). The following speech (to “I will yet alledge greater”) is taken from Dee’s record of the Action of 1583.06.14, *T&FR*, p. 13. In S5 it appears, slightly paraphrased and not credited, somewhat earlier in the *Janua* (fol. 18r-19r).

<sup>153</sup> Underlined in S4. Not underlined or emphasised in *T&FR* or Cotton Appendix XLVI.

Now if Trithemius or any other can say, that Woman also hath not the Spirit of God, being formed & fashioned of the selfe same matter (notwithstanding in a contrary proportion by a degree), If Trithemius, or any other can separate the dignity of the Soule of Woman, from the Excellency of Man, but according to the forme of the matter, then might his Argument be good.

But because that in Man & Woman, there is a proportion and preperation of Sanctification in Eternity alike; therefore may those that are the eternall Ministers of God, in proportion to Sancification, take unto them the Bodies of them both (I meane in respect of the Forme) for as in both you read *Homo*, so in both you finde one & the same dignity in Internall matter all one.

Now Trithemius spake, in respect of the filthiness (which indeed is no filthiness) wherewith all weoman are stained, & by reasons from the naturall philosophers, as a man tasting more of Nature indeed, then of him who is the Workman, or a Supernaturall Master, He (I say) concluded his naturall Invention.

In respect of myself, I answer Trithemius thus, I am *Finis*, I am a beame of that wisdom, which is the end of Mans Excellency.

And if Trithemius mark well, he shall perceive, that true Wisdome is always painted in a Womans Garment: for then the purity of a Virgin, nothing is more com[mendable].]<sup>154</sup>

And if (saith she), you think that these Arguments are not sufficient, I will yet alledge greater.

Thus far the Angell Galvah; and I think it in my Opinion very satisfactory to any ingenious & intelligible Man; & truly I also think, that we may commend the whole, with the most select of this Isagoge, without any sensible Errour.

Having briefly &c. ~~~~ p: 65.

[It is unclear to whom this diatribe was addressed. It is highly doubtful that the *Janua* was written for general publication, and anyone known to be hostile to the subject-matter would be unlikely to be willingly given a copy. Possibly the author was trying to convince himself or his associates of the compatibility of their magical practices with their religious faith,]

<sup>154</sup> Some text omitted: *T&FR* reads, “Those also that are called *Filiae* and *Filiae Filiarum* are all comprehended in me, and do attend upon *True Wisdom*; which if *Tritemius* mark, he shall perceive [...]” Part of the last word of this paragraph is lost in the gutter in S4. Galvah continued, “God, in his Judgment, knoweth, how Trithemius is rewarded.” The *Filiae lucis* (Daughters of Light) and *Filiae filiarum lucis* (Daughters of the Daughters of Light), the former originally described as “seven women in green,” the latter, among them *Madimi* and *Ath*, as “seven wenches in white” are among the angels of Dee’s *Sigillum AEmeth*, described in the spirit diary *Mysteriorum Liber Secundus* (BL Sloane MS. 3188 fol. 16-30).

*Excerpt I.<sup>155</sup>*

[49r] [...] as we have inserted, in a particular Tract or Treatise or two following, where they are all fully explained, & the practicall uses thereof, as hath been proved, & by the Ingenious may plainly and satisfactorily appeare.<sup>156</sup>

We have spoken before concerning the Natures of good Angells and Spirits, & of their diversities & distinctions; Now that we may not mingle truth with falsehood, nor run our selves into Meanders and Premunicies (?), by mistaking ourselves in these things, whereby many Errours hath been committed, and for that reason this Art hath been much scandalized & abused, when as indeed, it is only the Misunderstanding thereof, & the insufficiency & ignorance of the pretended Master thereof, where he knoweth not a good Apparition from a bad one, a true one from a false one, &c: For he who is a Magitian, must expect Temptations & Illusions, but he he can rightly distinguish them, & overcome them (the which he ought to know how to doe, or else he cannot be perfect in the Art) then the tempting illuding evill Spirit, flyeth away powerless, and becometh like a Waspe that hath lost her Sting, having no power or strength to tempt any more; for behold the evill Spirit doth sift & winnow us as Wheate. Wee could treat much hereof, but it is no place, we shall speake more afterwards, at the Conclusion of this Part, we shall shew you here a distinction (as we said before) of these spirits which are Terrestriall & Infernall, &c.: whereby we may be aware of their Temptations & Delusions, & pray that God would deliver us from them & give us power over them, to restraine & vanquish their evill, malignant attempts & assaults, &c.

The Bodies of evill Angells, &c. ~~~~ see p: 69.

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<sup>155</sup> Insertion point: after “Under whom [scil., the “Demon Kings” of the quarters] many others bear rule as princes &c., of Legions, & there are of the sort Innumerable spirits of private offices,” fol. 37r (p. 69). The opening apparently replaces “as before we said” in S5.

<sup>156</sup> It is unclear if this “Tract or Treatise” was ever written, and if so whether it is to be identified with any extant text. It is possible that the writer refers either to an edition of the *Ars Goëtia* (specifically, the “Dr. Rudd” edition in Harley MS. 6483) or to a work like the account of the Kings in S4 fol. 116-120.

*Excerpt K*<sup>157</sup>

[49v] VARIOUS is the Construction, & severall that been the Opinions of later Ages, of & concerning these Terrestriall Spirits, &c.: together with many vaine, ignorant & idle Censures, that have passed of them; of which we shall first give an account, & then our Opinion, &c.

Some doe suppose, that where they doe bring any benefit or good to Man, that they are Angels, or good & familiar spirits, sent to those men from God, & by him are taken from them againe, by reason of their great & heinous sins & enormous offences & Transgressions, in abusing such his mercies & labours; for often tymes they bring many good Offices & benefits to Men, & doe undertake & sustaine many hard Labours for them.

Some are of Opinion, that the Spirits will not bee seene by us, because that when a man seeth them, he cryeth out & is astonished, suppose that they are the Spirits & Soules of Men, that have come to an evill death, that have either desperately hanged or drown'd themselves, or any other waies violently made themselves away, or that have lived a vile & lewd Conversation, or otherwise vicious & noxious in their lives & dealings &c.: & for that cause doe wander about, & are reserved by the Devill until the day of Judgment.

Some doe suppose them to be only Phantasies, & doe presage and foreshow much good fortune to those places, wherein they are seene & heard; which many tymes hath so happened & come to pass, especially where the Truth hath been fixed & staple with a constant Taciturnity.

Some think that they are Magitians inchantments.

[50r] Some these are, who having seene & heard them about Treasures hidden in the Earth, have iudged that they are the Spirits of Men, who have hid Treasures in that place, & ought to remaine there, until their Custody thereof be found out, whereby they may be discharged therefrom, & the Treasure be obteyned, if the Master Artist, or carefull Magician, know how to order his Affairs, & understand what he undertake aright; if not he may shooe the Goose.<sup>158</sup>

These are the Coniectures of some; & many are the opinions of divers concerning them, but these aforesaid being the Major testimony, and comprehending the sences of all others, that have treated thereof, that wee thinke it both needless & useless to insert any more then what we have done, being all beside the Truth, & wide of the Marke they aimed at: wherefore we shall give a true answer to the foregoing Censures imagined of them, & a briefe narrative touching them.

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<sup>157</sup> Insertion point: after “by the Meanest Capacity,” fol. 40r (p. 75).

<sup>158</sup> “To shoo the goose,” per Hazlitt’s *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases*, is an idiom for “any futile enterprise or occupation”; so, roughly, “he’ll be wasting his time.”

As to the first Construction, we shall say thus; they cannot be Cœlestiall Angells sent from God, to communicate Benefits to Men, for they dwell not in the Earth, neither do they reteyne such grossness as a Terrestrial Nature, their habitations & offices are far different, & of an other quality, as wee have fully & appairently demonstrated formerly in their proper place; neither are they capable of suffering any such hard Labours. Their Offices are to Teach, Instruct, Guide & defend the Truth of sacred Misteries, & such as walk according to the Lawes & Commandments of God, & our Lord Jesus Christ, which is a greater benefit & blessing, then all these Terrestrial Elphs or Spiris, or all the Treasures of the World can give or purchase. These things are so obvous, that wee neede not spende any further thereof, as the foregoing Method of the Natures &c. of the Cœlestiall Angells, will exemplarily & more evidently make it appeare, &c.

To the second we answer; Tis true, they are not, neither will they be seene by all, but by some more especially, with whome they are affected & delighted, as we have fully explained, in the beginning of this section,<sup>159</sup> & from others they fly, & will not [50v] appeare to them, for the reasons before specified; that is, either they are daunted & dismayed, or that they are of a couragious Spirit & undaunted Resolution, & soe through their Confidence & want of knowledge and better Judgement, force them to fly or vanish away; or by Art force them to yeld, and fufill such his desires, as his present occasions & affairs render him capable of demanding, & afterwards by the Artist driven away from one place, & confined to another (as we shall further discourse anon) whereby they cannot (as before) appeare againe, but remaine as a Waspe that hath lost her Stinge; whence it cometh to pass, that they are said by such condignity to be deprived of their Office & Joy; which may without any sensible errorr, serve for another Reason to that, which is mentioned about the beginning of the foregoing page; why these Terrestrial Spirits are not soe frequent, visible & familiar now as formerly.<sup>160</sup> All which is likewise soe plaine, that it needs noe further exposition, &c.

To the third we answer, That these Terrestriall Elphs or Spirits, cannot be said to be the Soules or Spirits of any that have come to an evill or untimely end, or desperately made themselves away, &c.: as is asserted, for wee question, whether the Soule or Spirit of any one, can properly be said to reside, or be seene on Earth, after the Body is deceased and interred in the Grave; yet wee deny not, but that many houses hath been much troubled, & infested with Visions & Apparitions, and hath been disturbed annoyed & molested, with severall Incumberances, Incursions & unusuall Noyses & Hurly burlies; and that such like shapes & similitudes, hath been seene to walke & wander thereabouts, & in such hours as such an one lately lived in & that it was in such a likeness & resembled

<sup>159</sup> This possibly alludes to a passage not copied here, as already being in Ashmole's copy of the *Janua* (S5, fol. 38r, deriving in turn from OOP Book III ch. 32, p. 450).

<sup>160</sup> i.e., in the passage immediately prior to the insertion point for this excerpt (S5 fol. 40r, immediately following the list of the seven sisters).

such a person, & seemed to be in such a habit & in such a posture; & many such like things (somewhat whereof we have seene by Experiences) & therefore they are said to be the Ghoste of such or such a Person; but this is contrary to the opinion of those, who refer these things to the Terrestriall Spirits, Elphs, Sylphs or Pigmies. There is few or none twell in those Places which they inhabite, although they willingly resort, oftentimes & frequent [51r] and sometimes dwell in those places, which we inhabit (yet without dispute, it is not without but for some Cause), yet this cannot manifest them, to be the Soules of the deceased. This is a manifest mistake. And since it hapneth soe opportunely, we shall give a breife description & definition of these things, in this place; that the differenece between the Soules of the deceased, the Devills & these Terrestriall Elphs or Spirits, & the true foundationall grounds thereof might be knowne, to avoid all further Misconstructions thereof.

Manifest & divers are the opinions & suppositions of the auncient Philosophers, & modern Theologians concerning this subject, & different one from another, that it would even be endless & toylesome to insert their Traditions, & so painefull to beat our brains thereupon, considering how useless & impertinent a Subject it is, if we understand the substance thereof aright, as to coniecture the state of mans Souls, & his spirituall condition after death, we shall not trouble our selve much therewith, only as much thereof as is expedient for our preset purpose, in regard our present Task lyeth otherwise; & shall conclude with St. Augustine, That it is better to doubt concerning secret things, then to contend about things uncertain. And soe we shall to our intended purpose, in answer to the 3<sup>rd</sup> foregoing Construction.

Most certain it is, that Death is fatall to all, & it is appointed for all men once to dye, & as the Preacher saith Eccles 12. 7. When Man dyes, his Body retournes to the Earth, from whence it was taken & the Spirit retournes to God who gave it. Whence we may infer the words of the Philosopher, who saith, The Spirit of Man is of a sacred nature, & divine offspring, & is always faultless, wherefore it is incapable of any punishment. Others conclude thus, That the soule if it have done well, rejoyceth together with the Spirit, & going forth with the Ayerall Charriot, passeth freely to the Quire of Heroes (that is of blessed Souls) or reacheth Heaven, where it enyoys a blessed & perpetuall felicity, & the divine Vision, & possession of the kingdome [51v] of Heaven; But if it hath done ill, the Spirit iudgeth it, & leaves it to the pleasure of the Devill, & the sad Soule wanders about Hell like an Image, and being voyde of an intelligible Essence, & left to the power of a furious Phantisie, is ever subject to the Torment of Corporeall Qualities; knowing that it is by the iust Judgment of God, for ever deprived of the divine Vision for its sins, the absence whereof is the most grievous punishment of all: for when the Soule is separated from the Body, the perturbations of the Memory & Sence remain; To which St. Austin assents saying, That separated Soules reteyne the fresh Memory of those

things, which they did in their lyfe. Firmianus, a writer of no mean Judgement & capacity, asserteth thus, Let not any man concede (saith he) that the Souls or the dead, are iudged imediately after death, for the are all deteyned in one common custody, until the tyme shall come, where in the Almighty Judge shall examine their Deeds & Deserts; Then they who shalbe found Righteous, shall received the reward of Immorality, but they whose sins & Wickedness shall then be detected, [shall not arise again, but shalbe inclosedor shut up with the wicked in darknes destined]<sup>161</sup> to eternall punishments. In which opinion St. Austin subscribeth, where he saith in his *Enchiridon*, That the tyme which is interposed between the death of Mankinde, & the last Resurrection, conteyneth the soule in secret hidden Receptacles, where every Soule receiveth condign Rest or Misery, for the good or evill which it did in the Body, whilst it lived in the Flesh. St. Ambrose doth not dissent herefrom who saith, That the day of reward is expected of all, therefore whilst the fullness of tyme is expected, the Soules expect a due Recompense, Cœlestiall Glory & Fœlicity, being elected & prepared for some, and endless Tormente, Paines & Punishments ordained & determined for others: he further saith, that the Soule is loosed from the Body, & after the end of this lyfe, is even as yet in suspecne, being doubtfull of the Judgment to come. Heere we may behold, the generall assertions of the auncient Fathers and Philosophers, the which is also the opinion of the major part of our modern & later Theologians, and other Writers who hath followed the Traditions of the Auncients, [52r] as we have found, by curious & diligent search, with no small paines, for our further & more ample satisfaction in this Subject, being a matter much in conest & debate, & truly we can find litle difference in the Judgment of the learned, from what we have here insisted. And as for the opinions of the Scismaticks & Sectaries hereof, who are more conceitedly wise, then wisely Conceited, we pass them by; as being of noe worth, value, vaildity or estimation, &c.

In all which foregoing passages, we cannot finde one atome of satisfaction, one syllable to prove, that these terrestriall Spirits, Sylphes, or whatsoever we may call them, are or can any way probably, or at all be the SOules of the deceased, either in generall or particular, but rather make clearly against such Opinions, & seemeth to be a complete & rationall answer, to the 3<sup>rd</sup> Construction foregoing.

Wee shall only add a word or two of our own Opinion, & so conclude what we promised in the beginning of this Answer, & that is thus [We positively conclude, that hese Terrestriall Spirits, can neither properly nor improperly, be said to be the soules of any deceased Persons, in no kinde of Respect; our [...]],<sup>162</sup> That if it were soe, then should be have these Spirits most numerous & frequent, as we could instance in hundred of Examples, neither are we without Presidente enough & manifold to prove it, And I

<sup>161</sup> Text in square brackets written in margin with insertion mark before "to eternall punishments."

<sup>162</sup> Text in square brackets written in margin with insertion note after "& that is thus." The last three or four words are partially lost in the gutter & unreadable in the images I'm working from.

dare confidently aver, that in this perfidious age wherein we now live, there is not scarce one Man of ten thousand, that liveth a virtuous, pious religious, Charitable, honest, christian lyfe, or dyeth iustified by his Faith or good Works, as I am very confident Millions of some Christians in this Terrestriall World,<sup>163</sup> can say and shrewdly conjecture, by manifold & woefull experience, without any materiall & sensible Errour; yet God forbid we should iudge uncharitably of any One, though never so bad, & herein let noe one goe about to pull the Beame out of our Eyes, before he have taken the Mote out of his owne Eyes. And soe by this Rule, there would have been and would continually be, far more innumerable of wandering Spirits and Goblins upon the Earth, then People & Inhabitants, and soe by course halfe the world had neede be Magicians, to expel & drive them away, & instead of crying downe the Art, [52v] they had more neede to cry it up, exalt, esteeme & cherish it, and the learned therein (Professors we may not call them, for none dare, or be knowne to process it, the ignorance of the Age is such) We say, that to beleive Soules of wicked people, that depart this life, cannot goe to the place God hath predestinated and ordained for them, but must wander up & downe this terrene Globe, like Spirits & Goblins to fright folks is an Errour, & a palpable mistake; or to think that they can be turned or metamorphosed into Spirits, is as false; for as we said before, if that were true, the World would soe abound with Terrestriall Spirits & Goblins, that we should not be voyd of multitude of Experiments therein, & Exemplifications thereof, &c.: and yet we see, there is such a scarcity of such things, that hardly one Person of an hundred, will believe any such thing at all, as Spirits, &c.: which hotherwise could not of necessity but convinece any incredulous person, the Apparitions & usuall Signs, Testimonies, & other severall significations thereof would be so common, &c: Wee could alleadge greater Arguments to prove our Answer to these things, but we shall explaine something hereof more fully in the Argument following; & so wind up this Answer &c: Therefore observe &c.<sup>164</sup>

Isagogicall Observations &c. ~~~~ p: 75.

<sup>163</sup> Given the population of the planet at the time this was written, only a small percentage of those “Millions of some Christians” would themselves be among the “one in ten thousand.” The passage is hyperbole of course, and jeremiads on the corruption of the age can be found in, well, every age from which written records survive: but there is other evidence indicating that this work was written when a civil war in England was in living memory, and either during or shortly after a time when the country was under a military dictatorship run by a gang of religious fanatics.

<sup>164</sup> As far as I can tell, in all that rambling and ranting the writer hasn’t actually stated what they think those critters actually *are*, not indeed addressed all the opinions on the subject listed at the start of this section.

*Janua Magica Reserata:*  
*Further excerpts and fragments*

[The following invocation is found on fol. 81 & 83 of S4, which appear to comprise a single folded sheet that was inserted into an unrelated collection of talismanic designs with accompanying text (a small slip with a design of a dodecagram and heptagram was in turn stuck inside it, and now forms fol. 82). The title, sub-title and text follow the pattern of the “Cœlestiall Keys” of the *Janua*. A shorter “Tenth Key” in a different hand and style was written in on an unused page following the Ninth Key in S5.]

*The Tenth Key*

*Moveing & calling forth to Visible appearance the Cœlestiall Hierarchy of Heroes or Quire of Blessed Soules of the order of Animastick whose principall governer of Blessed Intelligences is Issim or the Soul of Messiah Residing & bearing Rule in the Spheare of the Elements.*

**O** You Glorious great Sacred and Cœlestiall Angells or Blessed Intelligences Jereceue and **Mitraton**<sup>165</sup> whose principall governing Angell or Blessed Intelligence is **Issim** & all others ye Cœlestiall Angells or Servants of the most high, omnipotent Incomprehensible immense Immortall & Eternall God of host the onely Creator of heavne & Earth & of all things whatsoever Both Cœlestiall & Elemental Animal Vegitable Minerall & Reptile or Insect that is contained & Comprehended therein & that serve before the most high & Excellent honoured Angells **Hajoth HaKados**<sup>166</sup> as ministering Angells present & always at his most high superior & Divine Commands and Appointments in the Order of **Aninastik**<sup>167</sup> or Quire of Blessed Souls and Residing in the tenth heaven, & bearing office Rule & power in the sphere of the Elements wee servants also of the Highest & Reverently here present in his holy feare Do Call upon you & humbly Request & Earnestly Entreat you & move you to Visible appearance In by & through this most Excellent Ineffable great mighty signall sacred & Divine name of the most high God **Issim**<sup>168</sup> & his numerall attribute **Malcuth** who sitteth in the most Imperiall & highest heaven before whom all the hosts or Quires of Angells Incessantly Singeth **O mappalaman Hallelujah** who created all Heaven & Earth in Six Dayes and all things there

<sup>165</sup> *Ierescue* and *Mitraton* are mentioned as the Western Angels of Wednesday in the *Heptameron*, where they have no particular connection to Malkuth, the Sphere of the Elements or the Order of Blessed Souls.

<sup>166</sup> The *Chaioth ha-Qados* (חַיּוֹת הַקָּדוֹשׁ) are more normally associated with the first sphere. They are not cited in the “First Key” of the *Janua* but are mentioned in the chapter of the ten Sephiroth and preceding table (S5 fol. 25v, 26r).

<sup>167</sup> I have allowed all the variant spellings of this name to stand, as it is generally lettered quite clearly.

<sup>168</sup> *Issim* or *Ischim* (אִשִּׁים, also appears as בְּשִׁים) more normally appears as the name of a class of Angels associated with Malkuth (Agrippa, deriving from Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*) or Yesod (777 col. LXXXVI, deriving from *Kabbala Denudata* tom. I part iv fig. xvi (M)). The name of God associated with Malkuth in Agrippa’s scale of the number 10 is *Adonia Melekh*, אֲדֹנִי מֶלֶךְ.

therein is & he saw that all hehad done was good & he Rested from his labors & he Blessed all that he had Done & Sealed the Same in his most high great & holy name **Marinata Abint Jeja** as the most high & onely God of heaven & Lord of hosts the maker of time & by the Seal of your Creation being the marke or Character of holiness unto you & by the Occult Mystery & Secret Virtue Efficacy & Influence thereof Dignifying & Confirming you in Orders office name natures & Corporallity with Divine Cœlestiall Angelicall immortall Eternall & Sublime Excellency glory power purity perfection goodness & love first unto the Servis of the most high God & his Divine Laws & Commands & nextly unto the Charge Care Conduct Councell Comfort Benifitt & Assistance of his servants the Sons of men Living on Earth to inspire Instruct & guide them unto the Knowledge & way of truth and all true [81v] Physicall & Mettaphysicall Sciences, Either Immediatly from the holy Ghost, unto more Choyce Vessells of honour or Mediately by Divine grace, & permission, from your Selfe or Selves, unto the Sons of men Servants of God Dwelling on Earth, whensoever you Shall be of them Invocated Called forth & thereby moved to Descend, & appeare unto them &c: by all aforesaid & by the great Signall Virtue, power Dignity Excellency & Efficacy thereof both immediately primary & mediately Secondary by Respective mediums of Divine light Grace & mercy & accordingly Dependent & So thereby flowing & accordingly Defusing, by Several Emanations proper a Symbolizing power & Virtue from the Superiours to the Inferiours wee Do humbly beseech Earestly Resquest Command Constraine & move you **Jereceve & Mitraton** to visible appearance being Located & bearing Rule in the spheare of the Elements together with all Others who is under the Command of your principall governor **Issim** in the Order of **Anamastick** in generall & particular Joyntly & Severally, Every & Each one by office Respectively to gird up and gather your Selves together Some one or more of you (as it shall please God) &c.: by Divine Permission to move & Descend from your Cœlestiall mansion or place of Recidence into this **C.S.** or **G.R.**<sup>169</sup> & therein to appear visibly unto us & wee also Entreat you would be grately pleased in and through the same to transmit your true Angelicall & Reall Presence plainly unto the sight of our Eyes, & your voyces unto our Eares that wee may plainly & visibly see you & audibly here you speake unto, or otherwise to appeare out of the same; as it shall please God & you his servants of Divine Grace & Messagers of mercy seemeth most meet proper pertinent & best befitting this Action, Appearance, Occasion or Matter, & to show plainly & visibly unto us, a forgoing Signe or teste of your Appearance, And wee do also yett further humbly Beseech Earneast Entreat, & undeniably Request & move you **O Jereceve & Mitraton** to move Descend & appear & personally to give your presence Move I say from your place of Recidence from that mansion Orbe & Spheare of the Elements the Office & order of Anmastick In by and through the Divine Signall

<sup>169</sup> "Crystal Stone or Glass Receptacle."

Mighty & Powerfull name of your God **Issim** and his numeral attribute **Malcuth** And the great Efficacy, Virtue, Excellency, power prevalency & Superiority thereof, to Gird up and gather your Selves together Every & Each one joynly & by it selfe, Respectively & Severally to [83r] move & Descend from your Cœlestiall Mansion or place of Residence Apparently visible to the sight of our Eyes into this **C.S.** or **G.R.** standing here before us as being sett for that purpose or otherwise unto us & before us out of the same as it shall please God & you his Servants of Divine Light Grace & mercy seemeth most meet, & best befitting this Action And to show forth a preceding sign of your Appearance & to be freindly unto us & by your Angellicall Benevolvency, Cœlestiall Illumination favourable Assistance: familiar society, Mutall Correspondency, verball Converse Continall Community & sacred Instructions, both now & at this time present, and at all other times to informe & Rightly Direct our most weake Depraved Stupid & Ignorant intellect judgments & understandings And to Condust us by your Angellicall Instincts & Archydoctions into the luminous path way of Truth, leading unto & giveing Enterance into the ports Cityes & palaces of wisdome & true science & to make us partakers of undefiled Knowledge without whose Angellicall Guide & Spirituall Conduct blessed assistance & Benevolent Advertisements it is very Difficult if not impossible for us or any mortall on Earth to finde or Obtain, & to be Esteemed worthy of Enterance into with testimony wherefore wee humbly Entreat & move you **O Jereceve Mitraton**, & all Others ye president & Inferiour Angells servants of the most high God Residing & officiating in the spheare of the Elements In the order or Hierarchy of **Anamasticks** who all obediently serve and readily fulfil his Omnipotent Decrees & Commands in his Divine Dispensations & Appointments According to your Generall respective offices, in by and through this his Ineffable Imperiall great Signal & Divine name **Issim** & his numerall attribute **Malcuth** & by the power Efficacy & vertue thereof we servants also of the same your God & by the strength & force of our faith & hope in him for Divine Assistance Grace & mercy herein do Earnestly request powerfully invocate & confidently move you & Call you forth to visible Appearance here before us in this **C.S.** or **G.R.** or otherwise thereout here before us as it shall please God is given unto you so to Do: And likewise to shew visibly unto us a forgoing Signe or teste of your Appearance, **O** you Servants of mercy **Jereceve & Mitraton** Residing serving & officiating in the Sphere of the Elements (Move we say) and by the Superiour power & [83v] Permssion and in the name of the highest Descend appear & visibly shew your selfe or selves joynly & Severally & Respectivley unto us in this **C.S.** or **G.R.** standing here before us or otherwise out of the same as it shall please God to permitt & Appoint you & to shew us a preceding Sign thereof And by your Mediate Angellicall Inspiration Information or Cheef teaching to instruct help aid & assist us both at this time present & also at all other times & places whensoever & wheresover wee shall move, & call you forth to visible

Appearance & to our Assistance in whatsoever truths or subject matter or things Appertaining thereunto in all wisdome & true Sciences, both Cœlestiall & Terrestiall &c: that shall be necessary for us And also as any other Emergent Occasion shall Duly & properly require to the advancement & setting forth of Gods Glory, & the Improvement of our Wellfare, Comfort & benefitt of our worldly & temporall Estate & Condition whilst wee yet live And likewise in all such matters or things whatsoever Else that shall be necessary for us to Know & Injoy Even bejond what wee are able to aske or think which the almighty giver of all good gifts shall in his bountifull & paternall mercy be gratiouly placed hereby to give you to Reveale & show forth unto us or otherwise to bestow upon us O ye great Angells & intelligences **Jereceve & Mitraton** Reciding Locating & bearing Rule in the Spheare of the Elements and all others ye Cœlestiall Angells of the Order of **Anamastick** Medium of Divine grace & mercy Ministers of true light & understanding & Servants of the most high God particularly Recited & Spoken of Invocated moved & Called forth to Visible Appearance (as afforesaid) Descend (we say) & by the power of Superiour Emission some one or more of you Appear visibly here before us as shall please God and be freindly unto us, & in your respective offices, Do for us as to the Servants of the most high God whereunto wee move you all joyntly & severally in power & presence whose works shall be song of honour & the praise of your God In your Creation.

Amen.

\* \* \* \* \*

[These two passages are found on fol. 109 of S4, which appears (based on the digitised microfilm) to be a single loose leaf, with the bottom 60% or so torn off, which was stuck inside an unrelated collection of treasure-hunting processes and “experiments” involving various named spirits, prior to the latter being bound up with other materials, whether by Ashmole, Sommers or another owner. They are in an apparently different hand to both the S5 *Janua* and the “Tenth Key”: this, however, is very probably the handwriting of the original author / redactor of the *Janua*.

The first passage, crossed out in MS., appears to be a draft or variant of one on fol. 31v of S5. Some letters are lost due to blotting; these are restored in square brackets by cross-referencing with S5 and OOP: it is adapted from OOP book III, chap. 17, “Of these [*scil.* “Intelligences and Spirits”] according to the opinion of the Theologians.”]

*The Theological Construction of Angels & Spirits, &c.*

There are nine Orders of Angels, thus nominated and Distinguished in their severall and respective Hierarchies & Offices. (*viz.*),

*Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones, Dominations, Potestates, Vertues, Principality, Archangels, Angels.*

The Superior Hierarchies are *Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones*, and these are Supercelestiall Angels, contemplating the Order of the Divine Providence; the first in the Goodness of God; the second in the Essence of God, (as the form), the third in the Wisdome of God.

The middle Hierarchy are *Dominations, Vertues, Potestates*; these Angels concur to the Government of the World. The first of these command that which the others execute. The second are Ministers to the Heavens, and somet[*limes*] to the working of Miracles. The third drives away those things which [*se*]em to be able to disturb the Divine Law.

The Inferior Hierarchy are *Principallities, Archanges, Angels*: these as ministering Spirits descend to take care of Inferior th[*ings*]. The first of these take care of publik things, of Princes, Magistrates, Provinces and Kingdomes. Daniel cap. 10 v. 13. Ecclesiasticus, Apocriph:<sup>170</sup> Deut.<sup>171</sup> The second are present at Sacred Dutys, and direct the Divine Worship about every Man, and Offers up his Prayers & Sacrifices [...]<sup>172</sup>

[The following untitled passage about evil spirits occurs on fol. 109v, and does not correspond directly to anything in the S5 *Janua*. Some letters are lost at the torn right edge. To make this clear, I have marked line breaks in the MS with l. A capital ‘A’ appears in the left margin by the start of the text.]

There are a kind of Spirits Subterranean and obscure, which are the Ang[*els*] l that failed, Revengers of Wickednes, according to the Decrees of the Divine Ju[*stice*], l and they are evill Angels, and wicked Spirits; because: many times they l annoy and hurt even of

<sup>170</sup> A space in the MS., probably left by the scribe intending to fill in later after looking up the chapter / verse.

<sup>171</sup> Another space here.

<sup>172</sup> Torn or cut edge of page here. Some letter tops are visible but not enough to make out any words.

their own accords, and there are Legions of them, [...] | they are likewise distinguished according to the Names of the Stars, Elemen[ts] | and parts of the World. Of these, four most mischievous Kings do gover[n] | and bear rule over the other; according to the four parts of the World, | under whom are many moure Princes and Governours of Legions governing [...] | and many more of private Offices. These kind of Spirits inhabit a place | either very nigh [to t]he<sup>173</sup> Earth, or within the Earth it self: There is no [...] | mischief which they dare not commit (if God give them leave.) Their Customs ar[e] | altogether violent and hurtfull, and they plot, and contrive, & endeavour & perpetrate ma[ny]<sup>174</sup> sudd[en] | mischiefs and Disasters. And when they make any Incursions, sometimes the[y] | lye hid, and sometimes doe offer open violence. They are very much | delighted in all things done wickedly and Contentiously.

[The text ends just above the torn bottom edge, with a horizontal rule below the paragraph. Two heavy diagonal strokes are visible at the cut-off, suggesting that whatever was on the missing part of the page was cancelled prior to the page being torn. It is paraphrased from the final section of *OOP* Book III, ch. 16 (pp. 393-394):

“[...] under these [*scil.*, good Angels] they [“the latter Theologians”] place a kind of spirits, subterrany or obscure, which the Platonists call Angels that failed,<sup>175</sup> revengers of wickedness, and ungodliness, according to the decree of the Divine justice, and they call them evill Angels and wicked spirits,<sup>176</sup> because they oft annoy and hurt even of their own accords; of these also they reckon more legions, and in like manner distinguishing them according to the names of the Stars and Elements, and parts of the world, they do place over them Kings, Princes and Rulers and the names of them; of these, four most mischeivous Kings do rule over the other, according to the four parts of the world; under these many more Princes of Legions govern, and also many of private offices. Hence the *Gorgones*, *Statenocte*, the furies. Hence *Tisephone*, *Alecto*, *Megæra*, *Cerberus*: They of this kind of spirits, *Porphyry* saith, inhabite a place nigh to the earth, yea within the earth it self; there is no mischief, which they dare not commit; they have altogether a violent and hurtfull custome, therefore they very much plot and endeavor violent and sudden mischiefs; and when they make incursions, sometimes they are wont to lie hide, but sometimes to offer open violence, and are very much delighted in all things done wickedly and contentiously.”

It is to be noted that in passages adapted from *OOP*, the compiler of the *Janua* universally omitted Agrippa’s reference to authorities, whether Christian theologians or later Platonists, that were not the Bible.]

<sup>173</sup> Words partially blotted in MS.

<sup>174</sup> “& perpetrate ma[ny]” written *sup. lin.* with insertion mark after “endeavour.”

<sup>175</sup> *quos vocant Platonici desertores angelos*

<sup>176</sup> *malos daemones & spiritus nequam*

*An Untitled Fragment*

[This cancelled passage appears at the top of fol. 37r; it is not in Ashmole's handwriting, but *is* in the same hand as the bulk of the first division (fol. 3-99) of Sloane MS. 3825, and directly continues from the text on fol. 99v; further, a cancelled page number at the top of S4 fol. 37r appears to read "(194)" directly continuing from numbering in the same style in the first part of S5. While sharing phrasing with the "Celestial Keys" of the *Janua Magica Reserata*, it actually belongs to "A Select Treatise as it was first discovered to the Egyptian Magij &c. &c. &c.," a set of conjurations of the planetary Intelligences from lib. ii of Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia*, a complete copy of which (exhibiting notable verbal variations from this fragment) is extant in Sloane MS. 3821 fol. 205-225.]

[...] same to transmit your true & reall presence, Corporally, in <sup>your</sup> Appearances plainly & Visibly, to the Sight of our Eyes, & Voyces to our Ears, that We may also as plainly & Visible see you & Audibly here you, speake unto us: or otherwise to Appear out of the same Visibly here before us, as it shall please God & you his Servants, or Servants as Messagers of his paterniall grace, & mercy, Seemeth Most Meet, proper, pertinent, or best befitting this action, Appearance, Occasion or Matters &c.

## *The Second Parte of the Art of King Solomon*

[This is an incomplete copy of the work now known as the *Ars Theurgia-Goëtia*, or the second book of the *Lemegeton*. While about half (15 of 31) of the principal spirits are missing, as are practically all of the 500+ spirit seals, it also includes material not in the better-known *Lemegeton* texts (Sloane MSS. 2731, 3825, 3648, Harley MS. 6483), namely a variant form of conjuration (repeated at length for each spirit) and the text of an oath to be sworn by a summoned spirit.]

[53r] In this following Treatise you have 31 Names of chief Spirits, with severall of the Ministring Spirits which are under them, with their Seals or Characters, which is to be worne as a Lamin on your Brest, for without that the Spirit that is appeared will not obey you to doe your Will, &c.

The Offices of these Spirits are all one, for what one commands, the other can doe the same, they can shew & discover all things that are hid or done in the World, & can fetch & carry, & doe any thing that is to be done, or is conteyned in any of the foure Elements, Fire, Aire, Earth or Water, &c.: also the secrets of any Person whatsoever, let it be in what kinde it will.

These Spirits Naturally are both good and Evill (that is to any) one part of them is good, & the other part of them is Evill: They are all commanded, and all subjecte, governed & ruled by their Princes, & each said Prince resideth in that Mansion & place of abode, in the true point of the Compass, which is at large fixed composed & shewed forth, in the following Scheame or figure.

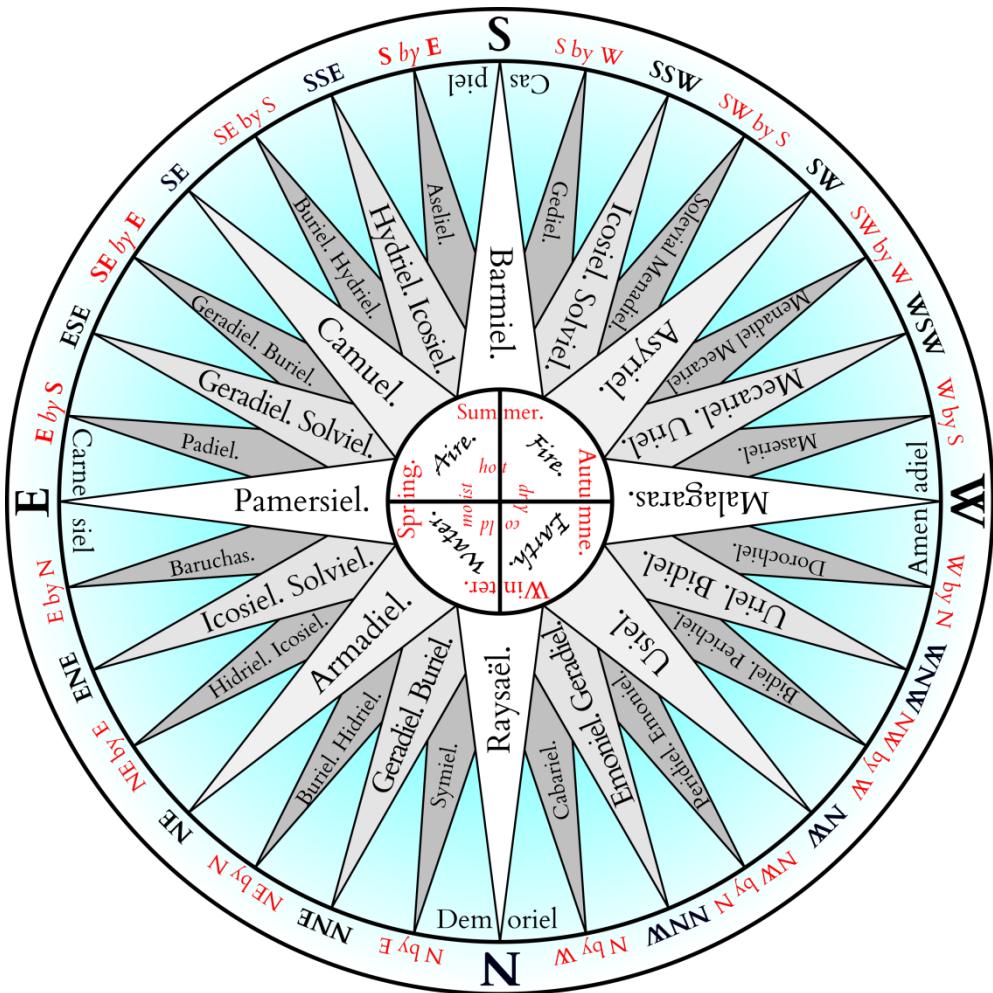
[53v] Therefore, when you are resolved to enter upon the Practice, or to make us of any of these Spirits, or have a desire to move or call forth any of the Kings, or likewise any of their Servants, you are straight way to direct, & truly to place yourselfe to that said point of the Compass wherein the King hath his Mansion, Residence, or his place of aboade, & you cannot Err or any waie goe amiss, in this your Operations or any like Experiments. Note therefore & carefully observe, that every Prince is to have his Coniuration, yet all of one Forme & man[ner], as in the foregoing part of this Book<sup>177</sup> is shewed at large. Therefore you have sufficient Explanation how to Call both Kings & Servantes, particularly observing every Prince to have the like Coniuration of one forme, as excepting the Name & Place of the Spirit, for in that they must change & differ. Also the Seale of the Spirit is to be changed accordingly.<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> i.e., the *Ars Goëtia*, only a portion of which is in the present collection.

<sup>178</sup> The bottom 40% or so of fol. 53v is blank, save for the catch-word. The copy in S5 here continues, "As for the garments and other materiall things, they are spoken of in the the Book **Goëtia** beforegoing Therefore it is needless to mention them here againe &c."

[54r] *The Forme of the Figure which discovers the Orders of the 31 Kings or Princes, with their Servients, Ministers, for when the King is found, his Subjects are easie to be found out, & so converst withal.*<sup>179</sup>



You may perceive by this Figure, that 20 of these Kings hath fixt Mansions, the Eleven is moveable, sometimes in one place, & sometimes in another, & other tymes together. Therfore you may stand with your Face, which way you please, when you call any of them or their Servants forth to visible appearance.

<sup>179</sup> There is a large blank space (over half the page) in the MS. at this point; Ashmole left room for the figure of the compass but didn't actually copy it. The image has been redrawn from the copy in S5; rubrication and shading does not reflect the MS. but is used to more clearly distinguish some of the close-together text items and the cardinal / intermediate compass directions.

There are issues with this diagram and the corresponding text in the entries for some of the spirits, likely the result of lost-in-translation with terminology for intermediate compass directions: the Latin *Steganographia*, the source of all those names, assigns the 16 "Princes" with fixed stations (Pamersiel through to Baruchas, nos. 5-20 in the *Ars Theurgia-Goëtia*) evenly around the compass, as is apparent from the list and diagram (the latter incomplete in the print editions) that appears at the end of the first chapter of Lib. I. Directions are there mostly called by the Latin names of the winds, e.g. Padiel is referred to *Subsolanus*, Samuel to *Eurus*, Asieliel to *Euroauster*.

*[Carnesiel]*

[54v] Carnesiel<sup>180</sup> is the most great & cheife Emperour Ruling in the East, who hath 1,000 great Dukes, and a 500 lesser Dukes under him, beside 5,000,000,000,000<sup>181</sup> of Ministring Spirits, which is more inferior than the Dukes whereof we shall make noe mention but only of twelve of the chief Dukes & their Seales, because they are sufficient for practise.

*Then follows the names & Seales of Carnesiel, & these 12 Dukes.*<sup>182</sup>

Note Carnesiel when he appears day or night, attends him 60,000,000,000,000 Dukes, but when you call any of these Dukes, there never attends above 300, & sometimes not above 10. &c.

*The Coniuration of Carnesiel as followeth.*<sup>183</sup>

Wee Coniure thee O thou mighty & potent Prince **Carnesiel**, who is the Emperour & cheife Commander ruling as King in the dominion of the East, who bear[es] Rule by the power of the Supreme God **El**, over all Spirits both Superiour & Inferiour, belonging to the Infernall Orders. Wee Invoke & Comand you, by the especial & truest Name of your God, & by that God you worship and obey, & by the Seale of your Creation, & by the most mighty & powerfull Name of God **Iehovah Tetragrammaton** who cast you out of heaven with all other the Infernall Spirits, & by all the [55r] most powerfull & great Names of God, who created Heaven Earth and Hell, & all things conteyned in them, & by their powers & Vertues, & by the name **PrimaVmaton** who commandeth the whole host of Heaven, that thou O Spirit **Carnesiel**, forthwith come forth & appeare unto us here before this Circle, in a faire & comly forme & shape, without doing any harme to us, or any other Creature, this place or any other part of place in the World, and answer truly & faithfull to our Requests, that we may accomplish our Will or desire, in knowing or obteyning any matter or thing, which by office you know, if belonging to your Orders, or proper for you to performe or to accomplish, thorugh the power of God **El**, who created & disposeth of all things both Celestiall Ayerall Terrestriall & Infernalle.

<sup>180</sup> Carnesiel here in S4, but otherwise spelt consistently. In Steg., Carnesiel and the other three “*imperatores principales*” are listed after the sixteen “Princes” (lib. i. cap. xviii-xx).

<sup>181</sup> I have added comma separators to the numbers of subordinates for ease of reading; none are in the MS.

<sup>182</sup> They were not copied by Ashmole. It appears that his source MS. gave them. Ashmole’s source was not, in this instance, the S5 *Lemegeton* (although that does contain corrections in his hand); the *Ars Theurgia-Goëtia* in S5 agrees closely with the present text in some passages represented by both, but varies noticeably in others and does not give the conjurations for the chief spirits at length, only the incipit of each (written in, somewhat cramped, at the foot of each page with the spirit seals, and many of them in a different hand to the body text: possibly, indeed, copied by Ashmole from the present text or its source); at the end of the list of chief spirits is a general form of conjuration with the opening address, names and directions to be switched as required, which is completely different from the conjurations in the present text.

<sup>183</sup> Compared to the conjurations of the other “Emperors,” this omits some phrasing.

*[Caspiel]*

**Caspiel**, is the great & cheife Emperour ruling in the South who hath 200 great Duke & 400 lesser Dukes under him besides 1,000,200,000,000 of Ministering Spirits, which is much inferior &c: whereof wee (saith Solomon) shall make noe mention, but only of 12 of the chiefe Dukes, and their Seales, for they are sufficient for practice.

*Then follows the Names & Seales of Caspiel & these 12 Dukes.*

[55v] These 12 Dukes have 2660 underdukes a peece to attend them, whereof some of them comes along with him, when he is invoked, but they are very stubbornr and churlish.

*The Conjuration of Caspiel as followeth.*

Wee Conjure thee O thou mighty & potent Prince **Caspiel**, who is a great & cheife Emperour, ruling in the South, who beares rule by the power of the supreme God **El**, over all Spirits both Superiour & Inferiour of the Infernall Orders &c: Wee Command you by the especiall & truest Name of your God, and by that God you worship & obey, & by the Seale of your Creation, & by the most mighty & powerfull name of God **Iehovah Tetragrammaton**, who cast you out of Heaven, with all other the Infernall Spirits, & by the most powerfull & great Names of God, who created Heaven Earth & Hell, & all things conteyned in them, & by their powers & vertues, and by the Name **Primaumaton** who commandeth the whole Host of Heaven that thou O Spirit **Caspiel**, forthwith come forth & appeare unto us before this Circle, doe not delay, doe not linger, what needs any more worde, Move (we say), move we say, shew your selfe & appeare affable courteously, friendly, in a faire & comely forme & shape, without doing any harme, to us or any other Creatures in [56r] this place, or any other part of place in thee World, & answer truly & faithfully to all our Requests That wee may accomplish our Wills or desires, in knowing or obteyning any matter or thing, which by Office you know, if belonging to your Orders or proper for you to accomplish or performe, through the power of God **El**, who created & disposeth of all things, both Cœlestiall, Ayerall Terrestriall & Infernall.

*[Amenadiel]*

**Amenadiel** is the great Emperour of the West, who hath 300 great Dukes, & 500 lesser Dukes, beside 40,000,030,000,100,000, other ministering Spirits more inferior to attend him, whereof we shall not make any mention but only of 12 of the chiefe Dukes & their Seales which is sufficient for practice.

¶*The[n] followes the Names & Seales [of] Amenadiel & these 12 Dukes.*

Note **Amenadiel** may be called at any howre of the day or night, but his Dukes (who have 3880 Servants a peece to attend them) are to be called in certain hours, as **Vadros**, he may be called the 2 first hours of the day, **Camiel** in the second 2 hours of the day, & so successively on till you come to **Nadros** who is to be called in the 2 last hours of the Night, and then begin againe at **Vadros** &c.: this same Rule is to be observed in calling the Dukes belonging to **Demorial** the Emperour of the North.

[56v] *The Coniuration of Amenadiel.*

Wee Conjure thee O thou mighty & Potent Prince **Amenadiel**, who is Emperour & cheife King, ruling in the Dominion of the West, who beares rule & power, by the permission of the Supreme God **El**, over all Spirits both Superiour & inferior, belong[ing] to the Terrestriall & Infernall Orders; Wee Invocat[e], Constraine, Compell & Comand you, by the espeicall & truest Name of your God, & by that God, which you serve, worship & obey, & by the true Seale of your Creation, and by the most mighty, most dreadfull & powerfull name, of the Everlasting & Living God **Iehovah Tetragrammaton** who threw you downe & cast you out of Heaven, with all others, & the rest of the Infernall Spirits, and by all the most powerfull & great names of God, who created Heaven, Earth & Hell, & all things whatsoever conteyned in them, And by their powers & vertues & by the Name **Primaum[aton]** who commandeth the whole Host of Heaven, that thou, O Spirit **Amenadiel** forthwith (we say) move descend & appeare, & shew thy selfe Visbily unto us here before this Cristall,<sup>184</sup> Come yee in faire & comly forme & shape without any delay, the King command[eth] you, Therefore defer not your coming, what needs any more words, In the name of him that Liveth forever, who shall come to Judge the Quick & the [57r] Dead, & the World by Fire, gird up your selfe & come away, even at this very present tyme, before the Circle and behold the Pentacle of Solomon. Behold your Conclusion,<sup>185</sup> be not obstinate & rebellious, Behond the Banner of God, Move therefore & give your presence in noe gastly shape, without doing any harme to us, or any other Creature, this place or any other part or place in the World. Come yee therefore courteously, affably, friendly, & answer truly & faithfully to all our requests, that we may accomplish our Wills and desires, in knowing or obteyning any matter or thing whatsoever, which by Office you know, if belonging to your Orders, or proper for you to performe or to accomplish, through the power of God **El**, who created & disposeth of all things, both Cœlestiall Aieriall, Terrestriall and Infernall.

<sup>184</sup> Probably a slip for “Circle”; none of the other conjurations of the Emperors mention a crystal and texts of the period that do, call spirits to appear in and not before it.

<sup>185</sup> *Ecce conclusionem vestram* (adapted from the *Heptameron*, in turn deriving from the *Liber Iuratus*). “Doom” would be a better translation in the context.

### *[Demoriel]*

**Demoriel** is the great & mighty Emperour of the North, who hath 400 great Dukes & 600 lesser Dukes, with 700,000,800,000,900,000 Servants under his Command to attend him, whereof we shall make mention but of 12 of the cheife Dukes & their Seales, which will be sufficient for practice.

*Heere should follow the Names & Seales of Demoriel and the said 12 Dukes.*

[57v] Note each of those Dukes hath 1140 Servants, who attends them as needs requireth, for when the Duke yee call for, have more to doe then ordinary, he hath the more Servants to attend him,

### *The Coniuration of Demoriel as followeth*

Wee Coniure thee O thou great & mightier Emperour **Demoriel**, who is the King & cheife Prince ruling in the Dominion of the North, who bears rule & power, by the permission of the Supreme God **El**, over all Spirits both Superiour & Inferiour, belonging to the Terrestriall & Infernall Orders, Wee Invocate, Constraine, Compell & Comand you, by the especiall & truest name of our God, And by that God which you serve worship & obey, & by the true Seale of your Creation, & by the most mighty most dreadfull and powerfull Name of the Everlasting & Living God, **Iehovah Tetragrammaton** who threw you downe cast you out of Heaven, with all other & the rest of the Infernall Spirits, & by all the most powerfull & great Names of God, who created Heaven Earth & Hell & all things whatsoever conteyned in them, And by their power & vertues, and by the Name **Primaumaton** who commandeth the whole Host of Heaven, that thou O Spirit **Demoriel**, forthwith (we say) move, descend & appeare, & shew thy selfe [58r] visibly unto us here before this Circle, Come yee in a faire & comely forme & shape without any delay, the King comands you, therefore defer not your coming, what needs any more words, in the Name of him that Liveth forever, who shall come to Judge the Quick & the dead & the World by Fire, Gird up your selfe & come away, even at this very present tyme before this Circle, & behold the Pentacle of Solomon, Behold your Conclusion be not obstinate & Rebellious, behold the Banner of God, Move therefore, & give your presence in noe gastly shape, without doing any harme to us, or any other Creatures in this place, or any other part of place in the World, Come yee therefore courteously, affably, friendly, & answer truly and faithfully to all our requests, that we may accomplish our Wills & desires, in knowing or obteyning any matter or thing whatsoever, which by Office you know if belonging to your Orders or proper for you to performe or accomplish through the power of God **El**, who created and disposeth all things both Cœlestiall & Aieriali Terrestriall & Infernall.

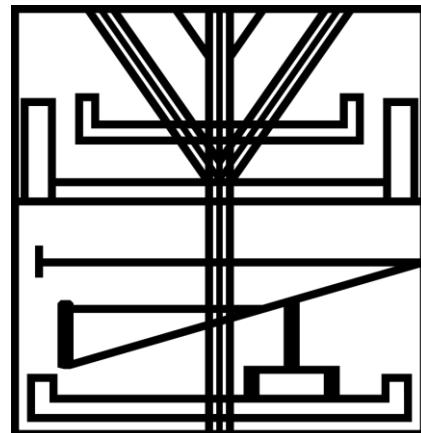
### [Pamersiel]

[58v] **Pamersiel** is the first & cheife Spirit in the East under Carnesiel, who hath 1000 Spirits under him, which are to be called in the day tyme, but with great care, for they are very lofty & stubborne, whereof we shall make mention but of 11 as followeth.

*Then follows the Names & Seales of Pamersiel, & eleven Spirits.*

Note these Spirits are by nature Evill & very false, not to be trusted in secret things,<sup>186</sup> but is excellent in driving away Spirits of darkness from any place or House that is haunted.

To call forth Pamersiel or any of these his servants, chuse the uppermost private or secret & most Ticitt<sup>187</sup> Roome in the house, or in some certain Island, Wood or Grove, or the most occult or hidden place from all comers or goers, that noe one chancely may (if possible) happen that way. (Chamber or what ever place else you Act your Concernes in) Observe that it be very Aiery, because those Spirits that is in this part, are all of the Aire, you may call these Spirits into a Christall Stone or Glass Receptacles, being an auncient & usuall way of receiving & binding of Spirits.<sup>188</sup> This Christall Stone must be foure Inches [59r] Diamiter, set a Table of Art made as followeth, which is truly called the Secret Table of Solomon, having the Seale of the Spirit on your Brest, & the Girdle about your Waste, & you cannot err, the forme of the Table is thus, as this present Figure doth here represent & shew;<sup>189</sup> behold the Figure when you have thus prepaired what is to be prepaired, rehearse the Conjuration following severall tymes, that is whilst<sup>190</sup> the Spirit come, for without doubt he will come; Note the same Method is to be used, in all the following part of this booke as is here of **Pamersiel**, & his Servants, Also the same in calling the King & his Servants, &c.



[The Table of Art.]

<sup>186</sup> This characterisation was originally a circumlocution for the “Pamersiel” cipher being very easily broken, being a simple acrostic cipher where the first letter of each word in the cover text spells out the message.

<sup>187</sup> S5: “Piritt,” corrected to “Tacit” (i.e., quiet) in margin.

<sup>188</sup> While ceremonial crystallomancy does indeed have history in English magical traditions long predating the *Lemegeton*, this particular phrasing occurs repeatedly in the *Janua* and *Clavicula Tabularum Enochii*.

<sup>189</sup> The design previously appeared in a late Renaissance magical emblem work, the *Calendarium Naturale Magicum Perpetuum* of Johann Baptista Großchedel, printed in Frankfurt in 1618 by Johann Theodor de Bry; the figure featured in an expanded version of the scale of the number 8 from Lib. ii of *De occulta philosophia*, associated with Mars, the dryness of fire, the “poor in spirit [whose] is the kingdom of heaven” among the classes of the blessed, &c.

<sup>190</sup> Corrected to “until” in margin. In some English regional dialects, “while” is still used in the sense of “until,” for example, if you’re told your day shift is “eight while four,” that means you’re on from eight o’clock in the morning to four o’clock in the afternoon.

*The Coniuration of Pamersiel*

Wee Coniure thee O **Pamersiel**, a cheife Spirit ruling in the **East**, under that mighty Potent and great Prince **Carnesiel**, Wee Invocate, (Move & call you forth) compel, constraine & command you by the especiall & truest name of God, & by that God which you serve worship & obey, & by the true Seale of your creation, & by the most mighty most dreadfull & most powerfull name of the Everlasting & Living God **Iehovah Tetragrammaton**, who threw you downe & cast you out of Heaven, with all other & the rest of the Infernall Spirits, and by all the most powerfull & great Names of God, who created Heaven Earth & Hell, & all things whatsoever [59v] conteyned in them, & by their powers & vertues & by the Name **PrimaUmaton**, who commandeth the whole Host of Heaven, that thou O Spirit **Pamersiel** forthwith (we say) move, descend & appeare, & to shew thy selfe visibly unto us here before this Circle, Come ye in a faire & comely forme & shape, without any delay, The King commands you, therefore defer not your coming, what needs any more words, In the name of him that Liveth for ever, who shall come to iudge the Quick & the Dead, & the World by Fire, Gird up your selfe & come away even at this present tyme before this Circle, & behold the Pentacle of Solomon, behold the Conclusion, be not obstinate & Rebellious, behold the Banner of God, Move therefore courteously, affibly, frendly, & answer truly & faithfully to all our Requests, that we may accomplish our Wills & Desires in knowing or obteyning any matter or thing, which by Office you know if belonging to your Orders, or proper for you to performe or accomplish, through the power of God **El**, who created & disposeth of all things both Cœlestiall, Ayeriall & Infernall.

*[Padiel]*

The second Spirit in order under the Emperour of the **East**, is called **Padiel**, he ruleth in the **East** and by **South**<sup>191</sup> as King, & governeth 10,000 Spirits by [60r] day, and 200,000 by Night, besides severall Thousands under them, They are all good by Nature, and may be trusted. Solomon saith, that these spirits have no power of themselves, but what is given unto them by their prince **Padiel**, therefore he hath made noe mention of any of their Names, because if any of them is called, they cannot appeare without the Leave of their Prince, as others can doe &c. You must use the same Method in calling this Prince **Padiel**, is is declared before of **Pamersiel**.

*Then followes the Seale of Padiel.*

<sup>191</sup> *i.e.* East-Southeast (Lat. *Subsolanus*). See note to compass diagram.

*The Coniuration of Padiel.*

Wee Conjure thee O thou Mighty & Potent Prince **Padiel**, who rulses as a chiefe Prince or King, in the Dominion of **East** and by **South**. Wee Invocate comand & compel you, by the especiall Name of your God, and by that God which you serve worship & obey, & by the true Seale of your Creation, and by the most mighty most dreadfull, and powerfull Name, of the everlasting & Living God, **Iehovah Tetragrammaton**, who threw downe & cast you out of Heaven, with all the other the rest of the Infernall Spirits, and by all the most powerfull & great Names of God, who created Heaven Earth & Hell, & all thing whatsoever conteyned in them, and by their powers & vertues [60v] and by the name **Primaumaton** who commandeth the whole Host of Heaven, That thou O Spirit **Padiel**, forthwith (we say) move, descend and appeare, & shew thy selfe visibly unto us here before this Christall, Come yee in a faire & comly forme & shape, without any delay, the King comands you, therefore defer not your coming, what needs any more words, in the Name of him that liveth for ever who shall come to iudge the Quick & the Dead & the World by fyre, Gire up your selfe, & come away even at this very present tyme before this Circle & behold the Pentacle of Solomon, behold your Conclusion, be not obstinate & Rebellious, Behold the Banner of God, Move therefore & give your presence in noe ghastly shape, without doing any harme unto us, or any other Creature in this place, or any other part or place in the World, Come you therefore curteously affably friendly, and answer truly & faithfully to all our Requests, that we may accomplish our Wills & desires, in knowing or obteyning any matter or thing, which by Ofice you know if belonging to your Orders, or proper for you to performe or to accomplish, through the power of God **El**, who created & disposeth of all things both Cœlestiall, Ayeriall Terrestriall and Infernall.

*[Camuel]*

[61r] The Third Spirit placed & ranked in order under the cheife mighty great & potent king of the **East**, is called **Camuel**, who reigneth ruleth & governeth as King in the **South-East** part of the World, & hath many & severall Spirits under his Government & Comand, whereof we shall only make mention by of 10 that apperteyneth and belongeth to the day & 10 to the night, and each of these have 10 servants to attend on them, excepting **Camuel**, **Sitgar**, **Asimiel**, **Calym**, **Dobiel**, & **Meras**, for they have 100 a peece to attend them, but **Tediel**, **Moriel** & **Tugaros**, they have none at all, they appeare all in a very beautifull forme, & very Courteously, And in the Night as well as the day &c.

*Then followed the Names & Seales of Camuel, & 20 of his Spirits.*

*The Conjuration of Camuel*

Wee Conjure thee O thou mighty & potent Prince **Camuel**, who rules as a cheife Prince or King, in the **South-East** part of the World. We Invocate, command & compel you, by the especiall & truest names of your God and by that God which you serve worship & obey, & by the Seale of your Creation, & by the most mighty, most dreadfull & powerfull Name of the everlasting & living God **Iehovah Tetragrammaton**, who threw you downe & cast you out of Heavfen, with all other & the [61v] rest of the Infernall Spirits, & by all the most powerfull & great Names of God, who created Heaven Earth & Hell, & all things whatsoever conteyned in them, and by their power & vertues, and by the name **Primaumaton**, who commandeth the whole Host of Heaven, That thou O Spirit **Camuel**, forthwith (wee say) move descend and appeare, & show thy selfe visibly unto us, here before this Circle, Come yee in a faire & comely forme & shape without delay, The King commands you, therefore delay not your coming, what needs any more words, In the Name of him that liveth for ever, who shall come to Judge the Quick & the Dead, & the World by Fire, Gird up yourself & come away, even at this very present tyme before this Circle, And behold the Pentacle of Solomon, Behold your Conclusion be not obstinate & rebellious, behold the Banner of God, Move therefore & give your presence, in noe ghastly shape, without doing any harme unto us or any other Creature in this place, or any other part or place in the World, Come yee therefore, courteously, affably friendly, & answer truly & faithfully to all our requests, that we may accomplish our Wills & desires, in knowing or obteyning any matter or thing whatsoever, which by Office you know, if belonging to your Orders, or proper for you to performe or accomplish, through the power of God **El**, who created & disposeth of all things both Cœlestiall, Ayeriall, Terrestriall or Infernall.

*[Aseliel.]*

[62r] The Fourth Spirit in Order is called **Aseliel**, he governeth as King under **Carnesiel** in the **South** & by **East**,<sup>192</sup> he hath 10 cheife Spirits belonging to the day, & 20 to the Night, under whome are 30 principall Spirits, and under these as many, whereof we shall make mention, but of 8 of the cheife presidents belonging to the day, & as many belonging to the Night, and every one hath 20 Servants at his command they are all very courteous & Loving, & beautifull to behold &c.

*Then followes the Names & Seales of Aseliel, & his 16 Presidents.*

<sup>192</sup> i.e. South-southeast (Lat. *Euroauster*): see note to compass diagram.

*The Coniuration of Asiel.*

Wee Conjure thee O thou mighty & potent Prince **Asiel**, who rules as a cheife Prince or King, under **Carnesiel** in the **South** and by **East**, Wee Invocate, constraine, command & compell you, by the especiall & truest Name of your God, & by that God which you serve worship & obey, & by the true Seale of your Creation, and by the most mighty most dreadfull & powerfull Name, of the everlasting & everliving God **Iehovah Tetragrammaton**, who threw you downe & cast you out of Heaven, with all other the rest of the Infernall Spirits, and by all the most powerfull & great Names of God, who created Heaven, Earth & Hell, & all things whatsoever conteyned in them, & by their power & vertues, and by the name **Primaumaton**, who commandeth the whole Host of Heaven, [62v] That thou O Spirit **Asiel**, forthwith (wee say) Move descend and Appeare, & show thy selfe visibly unto us, here before this Circle, Come yee in a faire & comely forme & shape without delay, The King comands you, therefore defer not your coming, what needes any more words, In the Name of him that liveth for ever, who shall come to Judge the Quick & the Dead, & the World by Fire, Gird up yourself & come away, even at this very present tyme before this Circle, and behold the Pentacle of Solomon, Behold your Conclusion be not obstinate & rebellious, behold the Banner of God, Move therefore & give your presence, in noe ghastly shape, without doing any harme unto us or any other Creature in this place, or any other part or place in the World. Come yee therefore, courteously, affably friendly, & answer truly & faithfully to all our requests, that we may accomplish our Wills & desires, in knowing or obteyning any matter or thing whatsoever, which by Office you know, if belonging to your Orders, or proper for you to performe or accomplish, through the power of God **El**, who created & disposeth of all things both Cœlestiall, Ayeriall, Terrestriall or Infernall.

*[Barmiel]*

[63r] The Fift Spirit in order is called **Barmiel**, he is the first & cheifest Spirit under **Caspiel**, the Emperour of the South, He governs in the South, as King under Caspiel, & hath 10 Dukes for the day, & 20 for the Night, to attend him to doe his will, the which 10 all very good, & willing to obey the Exorcist, whereof we will make mention but of 8 that belongs to the day, & as many for thee night, with their Seales, for they are sufficient for practise. Note every one of these Dukes hath 20 Servantes apeece to attend him when he is called, excepting the 4 last that belongs to the Night, for they have none.

*Then followes the Names & Seales of Barmiel, with 16 Dukes.*

*The Conjuration of Barmiel.*

Wee Conjure thee O thou mighty & potent Prince **Barmiel**, who rules as a cheife Prince or King, in the **South**, under **Caspel**, Wee invocate, constraine, command & compell you, by the especiall & truest name of your God, & by that God which you serve worship & obey, & by the Seale of your Creation, and by the most mighty most dreadfull & powerfull Name, of the everlasting & living God **Iehovah Tetragrammaton**, who threw you downe & cast you out of Heaven, with all other & the [63v] rest of the Infernall Spirits, & by all the most powerfull & great Names of God, who created Heaven Earth & Hell, & all things whatsoever conteyned in them, & by their powers & vertues, & by the name **Primaumaton**, who commandeth the whole Host of Heaven, That thou O Spirit **Barmiel**, forthwith (wee say) Move descend and Appear, & show thy selfe visibly unto us, heere before this Circle, Come ye in a faire & comely Forme & shape without any delay, The King comands you, therefore defer not your coming, what needes any more words, In the Name of him that liveth for ever, who shall come to iudge the Quick & the Dead, & the World by Fire, Gird up yourself & come away, even at this very present tyme before this Circle, and behold the Pentacle of Solomon, behold your Conclusion, be not obstinate & rebellious, behold the Banner of God, Move therefore & give your presence in noe ghastly shape, without doing any harme unto us or any other Creature in this place, or any other part or place in the World. Come yee therefore, courteously, affably friendly, & answer truly & faithfully to all our requests<sup>193</sup> & desires, in knowing or obteyning any matter or thing whatsoever, which by your Office you know, if belonging to your Orders, or proper for you to performe or to accomplish, through the power of God **El**, who created & disposeth of all things both Cœlestiall, Ayeriall, Terrestriall or Infernall.

*[Gedial]*

[64r] The Sixth Spirit in order, but the second under the Emperour of the South, is called **Gedial**,<sup>194</sup> who ruleth as King in the **South** & by **West**,<sup>195</sup> who hath 20 cheife Spirits to serve him in the day, & as many for the night, & they have many Servants at their commands, whereof wee shall make mention but of 8 of the cheife Spirits that belongs to the day, & as many of those that belong to the Night, who hath 20 servants a peece to attend them, when they are called forth to appearance, they are very loving & courteous & willing to doe your Will, &c.

*Then follow the Names & Seales of Gedial & his 16 Spirits.*

<sup>193</sup> Compared with the other conjurations, the phrase “that we may accomplish our Wills” is here omitted.

<sup>194</sup> “Gediel” in T1606 and the Sloane *Lemegeton* MSS.

<sup>195</sup> i.e., South-southwest (Lat. *Austafricus*): see note to compass diagram.

*The Coniuration of Gedial as followeth*

Wee Conjure thee O thou mighty & potent Prince **Gediel**, who rules as King in the **South** and by **West**, Wee Invocate, constraine, command & compell you, by the especiall & truest name of your God, & by that God which you serve worship & obey, & by the true Seale of your Creation, and by the most mighty most dreadfull & powerfull Name, of your God **Iehovah Tetragrammaton**, who threw downe & cast you out of Heaven, with all other the rest of the Infernall Spirits, and by all the most powerfull & great Names of God, who created Heaven, Earth & Hell, & all things whatsoever conteyned in them, & by their power & vertues, and by the name **Primaumaton**, who [64v] commandeth the whole Host of Heaven, That thou O Spirit **Gediel**,<sup>196</sup> forthwith (wee say) Move descend and Appeare, & show thy selfe visible unto us, here before this Circle, Come yee in a faire & comely forme & shape without any delay, The King comands you, therefore defer not your coming, what needes any more words, in the Name of him that liveth for ever, who shall come to Judge the Quick & the Dead, & the World by Fire, Gird up yourself & come away, even at this very present tyme before this Circle, and behold the Pentacle of Solomon, Behold your Conclusion be not obstinate & Rebellious, behold the Banner of God, Move therefore & give your presence in noe ghastly shape, without doing any harme unto us or any other Creature in this place, or any other part or place in the World, Come yee therefore, courteously, affably, friendly, & answer truly & faithfully to all our Requests, that we may accomplish our Wills & desires, in knowing or obteyning any matter or thing, which by Office you know, if belonging to your Orders, or proper for you to performe or to accomplish, through the power of God **El**, who created & disposeth of all things both Cœlestiall, Ayeriall, Terrestriall or Infernall.

*[Asyriel.]*

[65r] The Seventh Spirit in order but the third under the great Emperour of the South is called **Asyriel**, he is a mighty King, ruling in the South West part of the World, & hath 20 great Dukes to attend him in the day tyme, & as many for the Night, who hath under them severall Servants to attend them &c.: here we shall make mention of 8 of the chief Dukes that belong to the day, & as many that belong to the night, because they are sufficient for practise, and the first 4 that belong to the day, & the first 4 that belong to the Night, hath 40 Servants a peece to attend them, and the last 4 of the day, & the last 4 of the night 10 a peece, they are all good natured, and willing to obey, those that is of the day is to be called then, & those of the Night, in the Night.

*Then followes the Names & Seales of Asyriel & his 16 Dukes.*

<sup>196</sup> "Gedial" apparently amended to "Gediel" in MS.

*The Conjuration of Asyriel, as followeth.*

Wee Conjure thee O thou mighty & potent Prince **Asyriel**, who rules as a cheife Prince or King under **Carnesiel**<sup>197</sup> in the **South** & by **East**, Wee Invocate, constraine, command & compell you, by the especiall & true Names of your God, & by that God which you serve worship & obey and by the true Seale of your Creation, & by the most mighty most dreadfull & powerful Name of the everlasting & ever living God **Iehovah Tetragrammaton** who threw you downe & cast you out of Heaven, with [65v] all other the rest of the Infernall Spirits, and by the most powerfull & great Names of God, who created Heaven Earth & Hell, & all things whatsoever conteyned in them, and by their powers & vertues, And by the name **Primaumaton** who commandeth the whole Host of Heaven, That thou O Spirit **Asyriel** forthwith (we say) Move Descend & Appeare, and shew thy selfe visibly unto us, here before this Circle, Come yee in a faire & comly forme & shape without any delay, The King commands you, therefore defer not your coming, what needs any more words, In the Name of him that liveth forever, who shall come to Judge the Quick & the Dead, & the World by Fire, Gird up your self & come away, even at this very present tyme before this Circle, And behold the Pentacle of Solomon, behold your Conclusion, be not obstinate & rebellious, behold the Banner of God, Move therefore & give your Presence in no gasty shape, without doing any harme to us or any other Creature in this place, or any other part or place in the World, Come you therefore courteously affably Friendly, & answer truly & faithfully to all our Requests, that we may accomplish our will & desires, in knowing or obteyning any matter or thing, which by Office you know, if belonging to your Orders, or proper for you to performe, or to accomplish, through the power of God **El**, who created & disposeth of all things both Cœlestiall, Ayeriall, Terrestriall & Infernall.

*[Maseriel]*

[66r] The Eight Spirit in Order (but the Fourth under the Emperour of the South) is called **Maseriel** who ruleth as King in the dominion of the **West** & by **South**<sup>198</sup> and hath a great number of Princes & servants under him to attend him, whereof we shall make mention of 12 of the cheifs, that attends him in the day tyme, & 12 that attends him, to doe his Will in the Night tyme, which is sufficient for practise. They are all good by nature, & willingly will doe your Will in all things those that is for the day, is to be called in the day, and those for the Night, in the Night. They have every one 30 Servants apeece to attend them,

*Then followes the Names & Seales of Maseriel & his 12<sup>199</sup> Princes.*

<sup>197</sup> Thus in MS. Should be **Caspel**.

<sup>198</sup> i.e. West-southwest (Lat. *Favonius*): see note to compass diagram.

<sup>199</sup> Thus in MS. S5 (fol. 123v) has 24 princes under Maseriel, 12 by day and 12 by night.

*The Conjuration of Maseriel.*

Wee Conjure thee O thou mighty & Poten Prince **Maseriel**, who rules as a cheife Prince in the dominion of the **West** & by **South**, wee Invoke, Constraine, Comand & Compell you, by the especiall & true Names of your God, & by that God which you serve, worship & obey and by the Seale of your Creation, and by the most mighty most dreadfull & powerfull Name of the Everlasting & Living God **Iehovah Tetragrammaton** who threw you downe & cast you out of Heaven, & with all other the rest of the Infernall Spirits, & by the most powerfull & great Names of God, who created Heaven Earth & Hell, & all things whatsoever conteyned [66v] in them, and by their powers & vertues, And by the Name **Primaumaton** who commandeth the whole Host of Heaven, That thou O Spirit **Maseriel** forthwith (we say) Move Descend & Appeare, and shew thy selfe visibly unto us, here before this Circle, Come yee in a faire & comly forme & shape without any delay, The King commands you, therefore defer not your coming, what needes more words, In the Name of him that liveth for ever, who shall come to Judge the Quick & the Dead, & the World by Fire. Gird up your selfe & come away, even at this present tyme before this Circle, And behold the Pentacle of Solomon, behold the Conclusion, be not obstinate & Rebellious, behold the Banner of God, Move therefore & give your Presence in noe ghastly shape, without doing any harme to us, or any other Creature in this place, or any other part or place in the World, Come you therefore Courteously Affably Friendly, & answer truly & faithfully to all our requests, that we may accomplish our Wills & desires, in knowing or obteyning any matter or thing whatsoever, which by Office you know, if belonging to your Orders, or proper for you to performe, or to accomplish, through the power of the God **El**, who created & disposeth of all things both Cœlestiall, Ayeriall, Terrestriall and Infernall.

*[Malgaras]*

[67r] The Nynth Spirit in order, but the First under the Emperour of the **West**, is called **Malgaras**, he ruleth as King in the Dominions of the **West**, and hath 30 Dukes under him to attend him in the day, & as many for the Night, & severall under them againe; whereof we shall make mention of 12 Dukes that belong to the day, & as many that belong to the Night, & every one of them hath 30 Servants to attend them excepting **Misiel, Barfas, Aspar, & Deilas**, for they have but 20: **Arois & Basiel**, they have but 10 &c: They are all very courteous, & will appeare willingly to doe your Will, they appeare 2 & 2 at a tyme with their Servants; They that is for the day, is to be called in the day, & those of the Night, in the night.

*Then followes the Names & Seales of Malgaras, with his 24 Dukes.*

*The Coniuration of Malgaras as followeth.*

Wee Coniure the O thou mighty & Poten Prince **Malgaras**, who rules as a cheife Prince or King in the dominion of the **West** under **Amenadiel**, wee Invocate, Constraine, Comand & Compell you, by the especiall & true Names of your God, & by that God which you worship, serve & obey, & by the Seale of your Creation, and by the most mighty, most dreadfull & powerfull Name of the Everlasting & Living God **Iehovah Tetragrammaton** who threw you downe & cast you out of Heaven, & with all other the rest of the Infernall Spirits, And by the most [67v] powerfull & great Names of God, who created Heaven Earth & Hell, & all things whatsoever conteyned in them, & by their powers & vertues, And by the Name **Primaumaton**, (who threw your downe & cast you out of Heaven, with all other the rest of the Infernall Spirits, & by all the most powerfull & great Names of God, who created Heaven Earth & Hell, & all things whatsoever conteyned in them, And by their powers & vertues, And by the Name **Primaumaton,**)<sup>200</sup> who commandeth the whole Host of Heaven, That thou O Spirit **Malgaras** forthwith (we say) Move Descend & appeare, & shew thy selfe visibly unto us, heere before this Circle, Come yee in a faire & comly forme & shape without any delay, the King commands you, therefore defer not your coming, what needes any more words, In the Name of him that liveth for ever, who shall come to Judge the Quick & the Dead, & the World by Fire, Gird up your selfe & come away, even at this present tyme before this Circle, And Behold the Pentacle of Solomon, Behold your Conclusion, be not obstinate & rebellious, Behold the Banner of God, Move therefore & give your Presence in noe gastly shape, without doing any harme to us,<sup>201</sup> or any other part or place in the World, Come you therefore Courteously Affably Friendly & Answer truly & faithfully to all our Requests, that we may accomplish our Wills & desires, in knowing or obteyning any matter or thing whatsoever, which by Office you know, if belonging to your Orders, or proper for you to performe, or to accomplish, through the power of God **El**, who created & disposeth of all things both Cœlestiall, Ayeriall, Terrestriall and Infernall.

*[Dorochiel.]*

[68r] The Tenth Spirit in order (but the second under the Emperour of the West), is called **Dorochiel**,<sup>202</sup> who is a mighty Prince bearing rule in the **West**, & by **North**, & hath 40 Dukes to attend on him in the day tyme, and as many for the Night, with an innumerable company of servient Spirits, whereof we shall make mention of 24 cheife Dukes that belongs to the day, & as many for the Night, with their Seales as following. Note the 12 first that belongs to the day, & the 12 first that belongs to the night, hath 40

<sup>200</sup> Passage repeated in error, probably by copyist eye-skip.

<sup>201</sup> In the other conjurations, the words "or any other Creature in this place" appear at this point.

<sup>202</sup> *Dorothiel* in T1606.

Servants a peece to attend on them, & the 12 last of the day, & of the Night, hath 400 a piece to attend on them when they appeare &c. Also those of the day is to be called in the day, & those of the night in the night, Observe the Planetary Motion in calling; for the 2 first that belongs to the day, is to be called in the first planetary houre of the day, & the 2 next in the second planetary houre of the day, & soe successively on, till you have gon quite through the day & Night, till you come to the 2 first againe, &c. They are all of a good Nature & will willingly obey &c.

*Then followes the Names & Seales of Dorochiel & his 48 Dukes.*

*The Coniuration of Dorochiel, as followeth.*

We Conjure thee O thou mighty & potent Prince **Dorochiel**, who rules as King in the **West** & by **North**, wee invocate, constraine, comand & compell you, by the especiall & truest name of your God, & by that God which you serve worship & obey, & by the true Seale of your Creation, and by the most mighty most powerfull & [68v] most dreadfull Name of your God **Iehovah Tetragrammaton** who threw downe & cast you out of Heaven, with all other the rest of the Infernall Spirits, And by the most powerfull & great Names of God, who created Heaven Earth & Hell, & all things whatsoever conteyned in them, and by their powers & vertues, And by the Name **Primaumaton** who Commandeth the whole Host of Heaven, That thou O Spirit **Dorochiel** forthwith (we say) Move Descend & appeare, & shew thy selfe visibly unto us, here before this Circle, Come yee in a faire & comly forme & shape without any delay, The King commands you, therefore defer not your coming, what needes more words, In the Name of him that liveth for ever, who shall come to Judge the Quick & the Dead, & the World by Fire, Gird up your selfe & come away, even at this present tyme, before this Circle, And Behold the Pentacle of Solomon, behold your Conclusion, be not obstinate & rebellious, Behold the Banner of God, Move therefore & give your presence, in no ghastly shape, without doing any harme to us, or any other Creature in this place, or any other part or place in the World, Come yee therefore courteously affably, friendly, & answer truly & faithfully to all our Requests, that we may accomplish our Wills & desires, in knowing or obteyning any matter or thing, which by Office you know, if belonging to your Orders, or proper for you to performe or to accomplish, through the power of God **El**, who created & disposeth of all things both Cœlestiall, Ayeriall, Terrestriall and Infernall.

*[Vsiel.]*

[69r] The Eleaventh Spirit in order (but the third under the Emperour **Amenadiel**) is called **Vsiel**, who is a mighty Prince, ruling as King in the North West, he hath 40 diurnall & 40 Nocturnall Dukes to attend on him in the day & in the Night, whereof we shall make mention of 14 that belongs to the day & as many for the Night, which is

sufficient for practise. The first 8 that belongs to the day hath 40 Servants a peece, & the other six, 30. & the first 8 that belong to the Night, hath 40 Servants a peece to attend on them, & the next 4 dukes hath 20 Servants, & the last two hath 10 a peece, and they are very obedient, & doth willingly appear when they are called, they have more power to hide or discover Treasure then any other Spirits (saith Solomon) that is conteyned in this Book, & when you hide, or would not have any thing taken away that is hid, make these 4 Seales:<sup>203</sup>



in Virgin Parchment & Lay them with the Treasures or where the Treasury lyeth, & it will never be found nor taken away.

*Then followes the Names & Seales of Vsiel, & his 16<sup>204</sup> Dukes.*

*The Coniuration of Vsiel as followeth.*

We Coniure thee O thou mighty & potent Prince **Vsiel**, who ruleth as cheife Prince or King under **Amenadiel** in the **North West**, Wee Invoke, Constraine, Comand & Compell you, by the especiall & truest Name [69v] of your God, And by that God which you serve, worship & obey, & by the true Seale of your Creation, And by the most mighty most powerfull & most dreadfull Name of your God **Iehovah Tetragrammaton** who threw downe & cast you out of Heaven, with all other the rest of the Infernall Spirits, & by the most powerfull & great Names of God, who created Heaven Earth & Hell, & all things whatsoever conteyned in them, & by their Powers & Vertues, And by the Name **Primaumaton** who comandeth the whole Host of Heaven, That thou O Spirit **Vsiel**, forthwith (we say) Move Descend & appeare, & shew thy selfe visibly unto us, here before this Circle, Come yee in a faire & comly forme & shape without any delay, The King comands you, therefore defer not your coming, what needes any more words, In the name of him that liveth for ever, who shall come to Judge the Quick & the Dead, & the World by Fire, Gird up your selves & come away, even at this very present tyme, before this Circle, And Behold the Pentacle of Solomon, Behold your Conclusion, & be not obstinate & rebellious, Behold the Banner of God, Move therefore & give your Presence, in noe ghastly shape, without doing any harme unto us, or any other Creature in the World, Come yee therefore courteously, affably, friendly, & answer truly & faithfully to all our Requests, that wee may accomplish our Wills & desires, in knowing or obteyning any matter or thing, which by Office you know, if belonging to your

<sup>203</sup> These are the characters of *Abariel*, *Magni*, *Ansoel* and *Adan*, four of the named Dukes under Vsiel. The first was copied slightly defectively and is missing two lines.

<sup>204</sup> Thus in MS. S5 (fol. 125v) has names and characters for 28 dukes under Vsiel, 14 by day and 14 by night.

Orders, or proper for you to performe or to accomplish, through the power of God **El**, who created & disposeth of all things both Cœlestiall, Ayeriall, Terrestriall and Infernall.

*[Cabariel.]*

[70r] The Twelvth Spirit in Order (but the Fourth under the Emperour of the **West**) is called Cabariel, he hath 40 Dukes to attend on him, whereof we shall mane mention by of 10: of the cheife Dukes that belongs to the day, & as many for the Night, & every of them hath 50 Servants to give Attendance, when their Master is Invocated &c. Note those Dukes that belong to the day is very good & willing to obey their master, & is to be called on in the day tyme, & they of the Night, is by Nature Evill & disobedient, & will deceive you if they can, &c.: they are to be called in the Night.

*Then followes the Names & Seales of Cabariel, & 20 of his Dukes.*

*The Coniuration of Cabariel as followeth.*

Wee Conjure thee O thou mighty & potent Prince **Cabariel**, who ruleth as King in the **North** & by **West**,<sup>205</sup> We Invocate Constraine Comand & Compell you by the especiall & truest Names of your God, & by that God which you serve, worship & obey, And by the true Seale of your Creation, And by the most mighty, most powerfull & most dreadfull Name of God **Iehovah Tetragrammaton**, who threw downe & cast you out of Heaven, And by the most powerfull and greate Names of God, who created Heaven, Earth & Hell, & all things whatsoever, conteyned in them, [And

[The transcription of *The Second Parte of the Art of King Solomon* abruptly ends here; fol. 70v is blank. Other copies of the *Ars Theurgia-Goëtia* have another 15 chief Spirits, each with several named subordinates, thus:

- Under *Demoriel*, Emperor of the North: *Raysiel* (also written *Raysael*; North, names and characters of 30 dukes given); *Symiel* (North-Northeast, names and characters of 20 dukes given); *Armaziel* (North-East, 15 dukes) and *Baruchas* (East-Northeast, 15 dukes).
- Wandering Princes: *Garadiel* (also written *Geradiel*) their chief, with *Buriel*, *Hydriel*, *Pirichiel*, *Emoniel*, *Icosiel*, *Soleviel*, *Menadiel* (*Menachiel* in the *Steganographia*), *Macariel*, *Uriel* and *Bidiel*: names and characters of 8-15 “dukes” or “knights” are given for all these except the first, who has none.

The list of spirits is followed by a generic form of conjuration, with the opening to be varied depending on the class / rank of the spirit (Emperor / Prince / Duke, fixed or wandering) with names and compass directions to be substituted as appropriate. This differs significantly from the form above. For the rest of the ritual rubric, from the address to the spirit on appearance and onwards, we are simply referred back to the *Ars Goëtia*.]

<sup>205</sup> *i.e.*, North-northwest (Lat. *Circius*): see note to compass diagram.

[The following appears to be an oath to be sworn by one of the spirits of the *Ars Theurgia-Goëtia* once you've actually got it to turn up. The handwriting is similar to the preceding but it appears to have been written with a different pen (strokes are generally thinner).]

[71r] I a Presidentiall Spirit<sup>206</sup> by name called **Padiel**, residing & serving under **Carnesiel** a King of the Angle or Mansion of the West,<sup>207</sup> at the Comand of the Soveraigne head of my Orders, and on my owne accord, by the virtue power & force of Invocation on that behalf, doe firmly & solidly binde & oblige my selfe by these presents, Visibly to appeare, in faire & desent Forme, unto **A.B.** and **C.D.** or either of them, at all tymes & in all places, whensoever & wheresoever, I shalbe of them, or either of them called forth & moved thereunto; either in a Glass Receptacle [as being one usuall manner of appearance & of receiving & inclosing of Spirits]<sup>208</sup> or otherwise out of it, as the Condition or Occasion of any matters in question or Operation shall properly or necessarily require. And I the said Spirit **Padiel**, doe also yet further & more especially bind & oblige my selfe, unto **A.B.** & **C.D.** or either of them as aforesaid, in by & through the truest & most especiall name of my God, & by the principall head of my Orders, & by his Seale & Character & the vertue thereof, at the sight of which all Spirits in their severall & respective degrees, Orders & Offices, doe therein accordingly serve, honor & obey. And cheifly by this my Seale or Character, as hereunder is by me affixed or incerted. And by the force [71v] and virtue of these words most powerfully in the Sophick of Magick Art, **Lay, Alzym, Mura, Syron, Nalgava, Rythin, Layaganum Layarazin, Lasai**, by the contents hereof, & by the vertue power & efficacy of all aforesaid, I the said Spirit **Padiel** doe firmly & faithfully promise to appeare visibly unto **A.B.** & **C.D.** or either of them, in manner & forme as aforesaid, & to make true & faithfull answers, unto all & every their or either of their demands & requests, speaking plainly, & to be understood of them or either of them, & also readily, willingly & effectually to fulfil, performe & accomplish, all & every such their or either of their Comandments, as at any tyme they or either of them shall request & enioyne me, at all tymes & in all places, whensoever & wheresoever I shalbe of them or either of them moved, or called forth to visible appearance, during their or either of their naturall lives, even to the last or ultimate Survivors. In testimony whereof being commanded, I have hereunto & hereunder, affixed or incerted, my true Seale or Character, unto which I owe & beare obedience, and have alwaise stuck close. ---<sup>209</sup>

<sup>206</sup> "called" written here and struck out in MS.

<sup>207</sup> *sic* in S4; in the above, as in the *Ars Theurgia-Goëtia* and the *Steganographia*, Carnesiel is referred to the East.

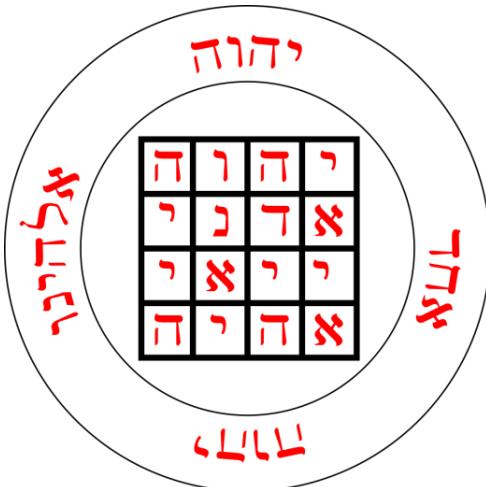
<sup>208</sup> Text in square brackets at bottom of page, with insertion mark after "Glass Receptacle."

<sup>209</sup> Short black horizontal bar in MS.

# *[A Book of Talismans]*

[This section (fol. 72-79) has no distinctive title in the MS.]

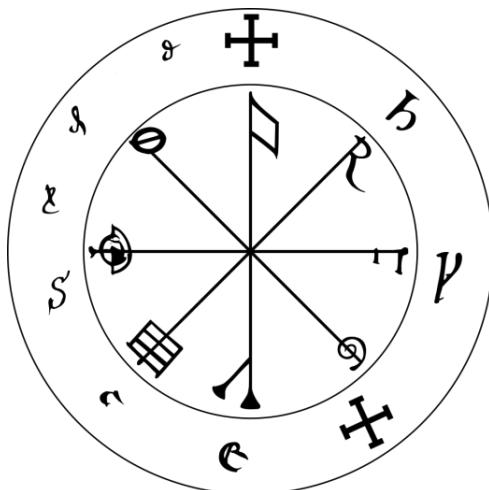
[72r] *The fore part*



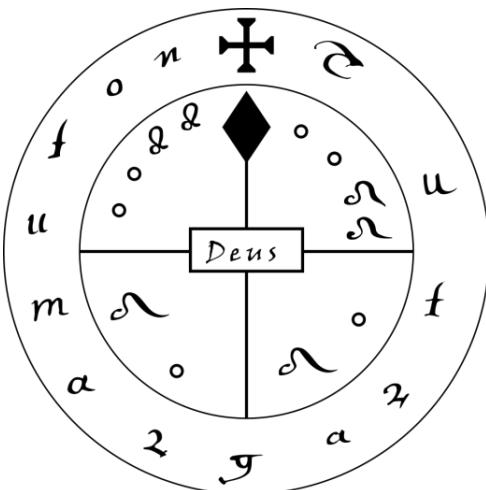
### *The hinder part.*



*This made in pure Gold or Virgine Parchment with Inke made of the smoke of a consecrated Taper and Holy water, is efficacious against all Diseases or Greifes whatsoever incident to the Body of Man, made or ingraven according to Art, &c.<sup>210</sup>*

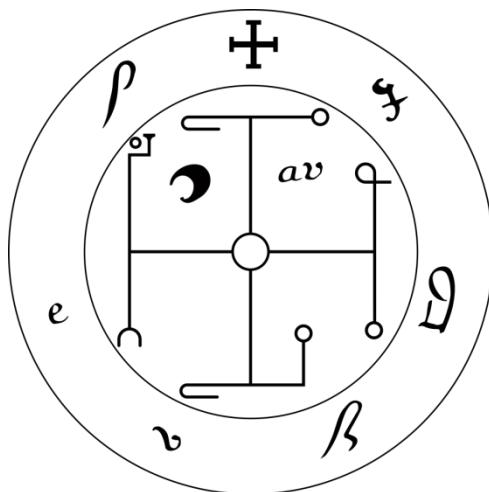


Beare this for Agues or fyning (?)  
Sicknesses, made in a Plate of Leade,  
coloured with Greene.

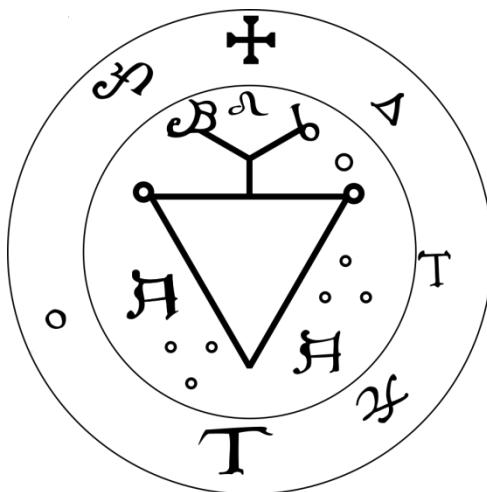


*This made in Wood of Ivy defendeth  
Venome.*

[72v]



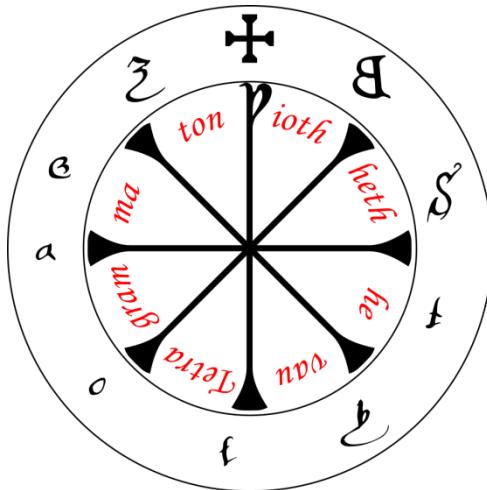
*This made in thinn Glass or Ivory, the Moone being in a strong Signe, delivereth from Blindnes, Baldnes & Leprosie.*



*This made in black Horne is against dimness of Sight, & all greifes incident to the Eyes, & very profitable to be worne of such as are Subject to wax blinde.*

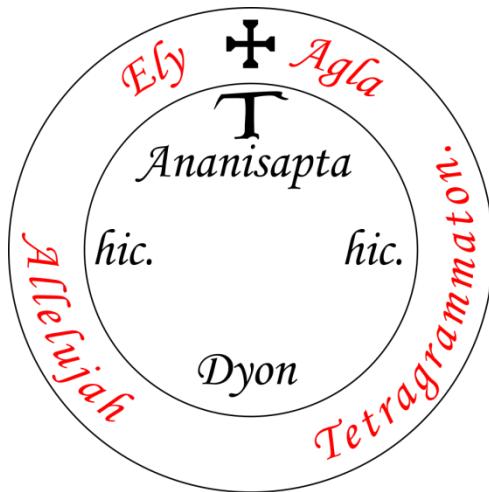


*This made in Virgin parchment, prevaleth against Madnes.*

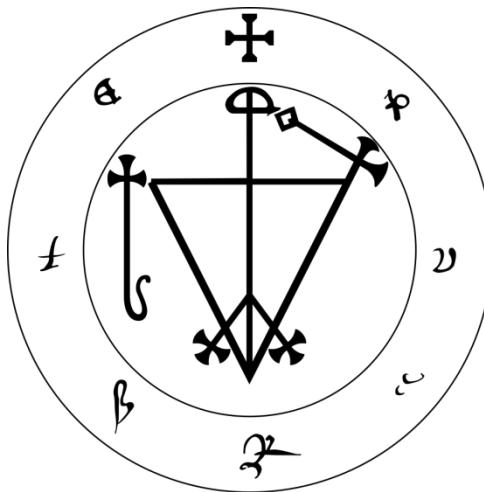


*Beare this made of Yellow wax to see marvails in sleepe.*

[73r]



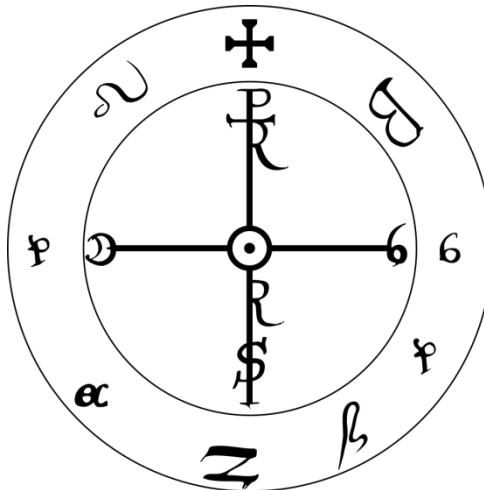
*This written in white Wax, & layd under  
your head, ye shall see what you will in  
your sleep.*



*This made in yellow Paper with Greene  
& Yellow Inke, is against a fearefull  
dreames & hurte in Sleepe.*

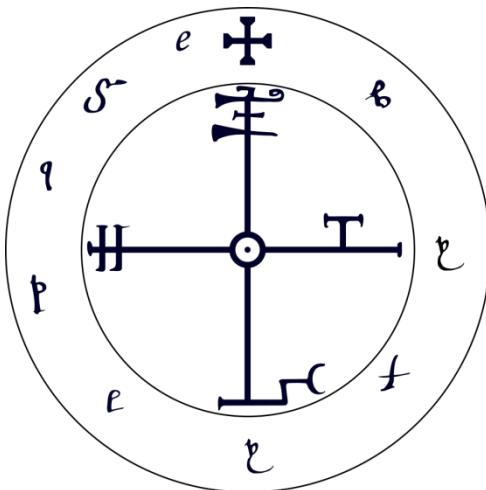


*This made in Parchment with black, is  
profitable in all Learning & study of  
Philosophy.*

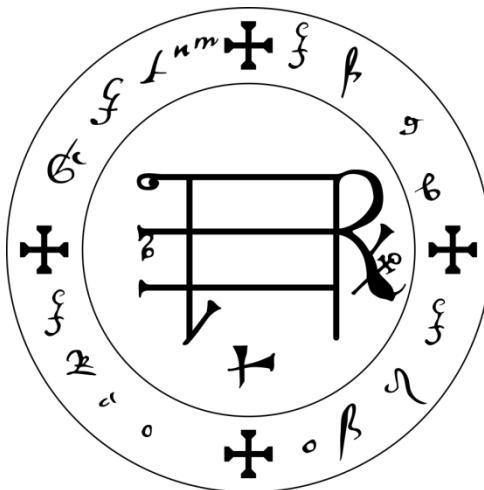


*This made in a plate of red wax & filled  
with yellow, serveth to take & tame wild  
Beasts, & to make them to thy minde.*

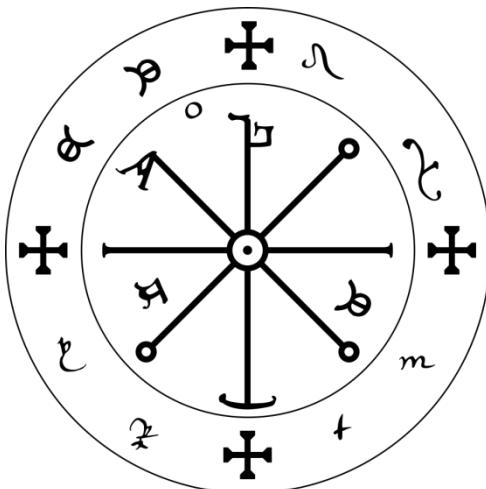
[73v]



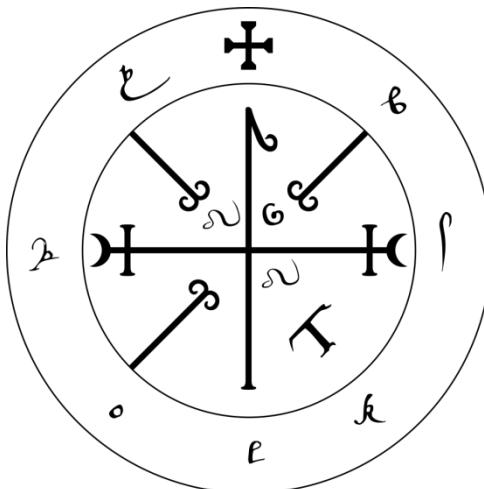
Beare this for taking of Fish in all water  
streames, made in Chalke & black Inke.



This made in red Willow serveth for Fishing  
in the Sea.

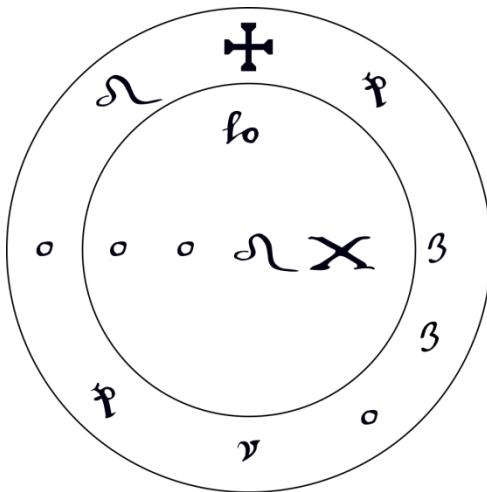


This made on Berrill Glass with white, is  
to have the knowledge of all kinds of  
Working, making & graving of any Glass  
or Glasing.

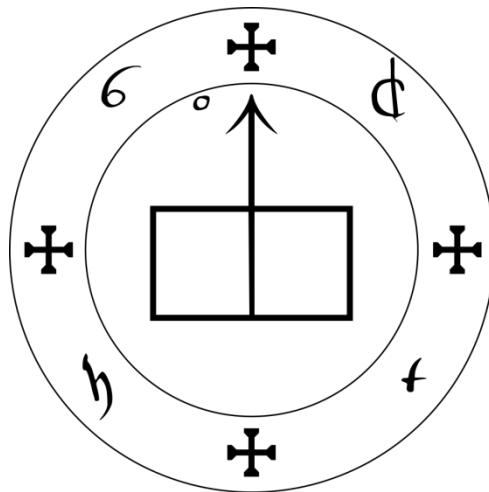


Beare this for buying of Wood & Timber,  
in a plate made of Slate.

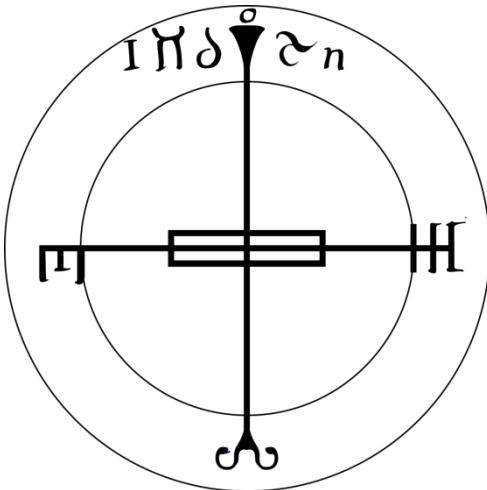
[74r]



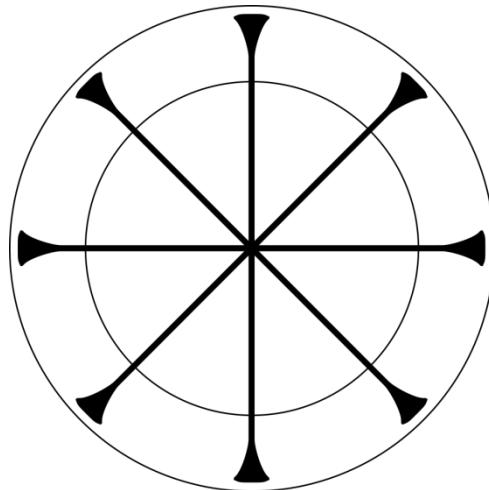
*For Fillers & Diggers, made in a Hazell Roote.*



*This graven on Iron, serveth to worke secret Crafte, as Jugling, Legerdemaine, & the like.*

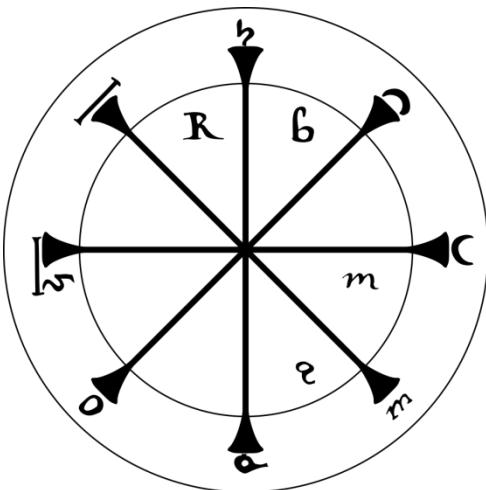


*This Signe is for the Love of all persons, both Male & Female.*

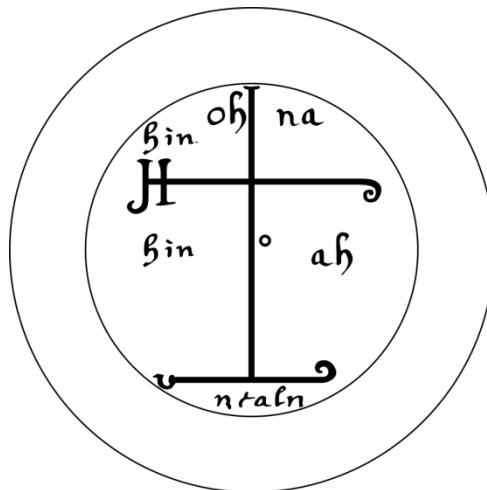


*This Sign giveth men the love of Persons on the way, & seperates Anger from the Soule.*

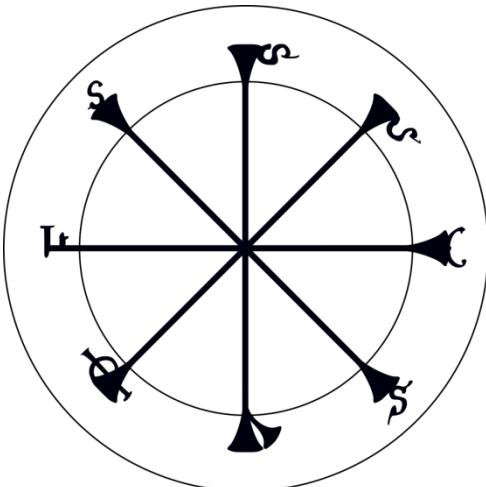
[74v]



*This Figure delivereth from all Dangers.*

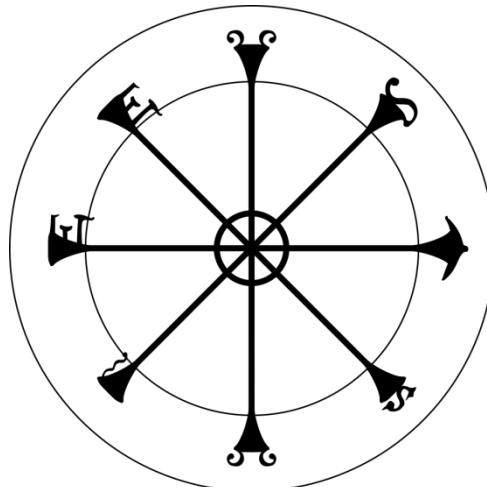


*This was revealed by the Spirit<sup>211</sup>  
the vertue, influence and efficacy whereof,  
is to put to flight all our enemies.*



*This Figure delivereth from all Enemies  
whatsoever whome you shall see or meeete.*

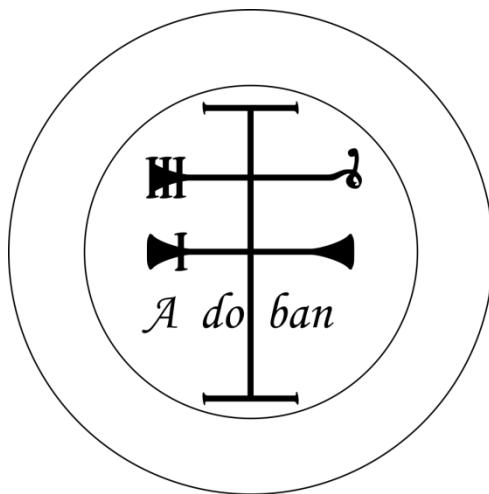
\*



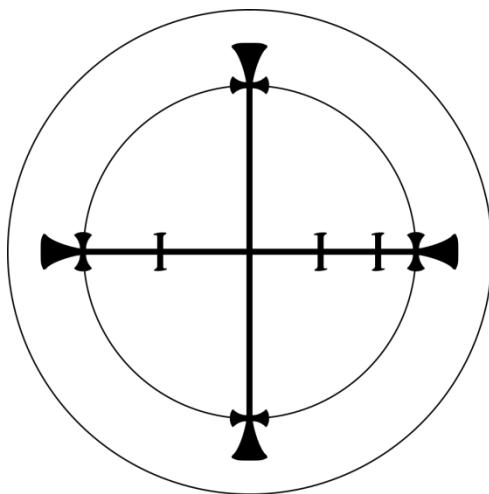
*The same as the next foregoing at this  
Asterick. \**

<sup>211</sup> Apparently a blank space in the MS.

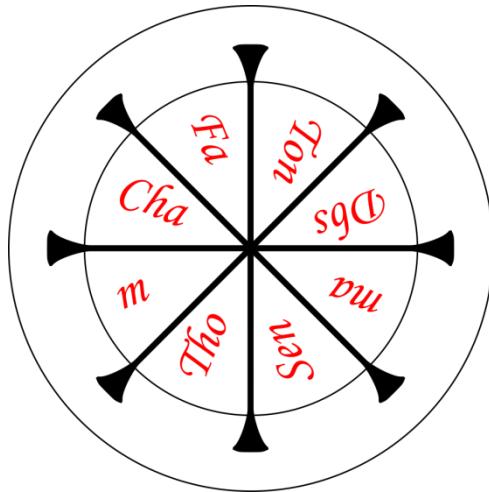
[75r]



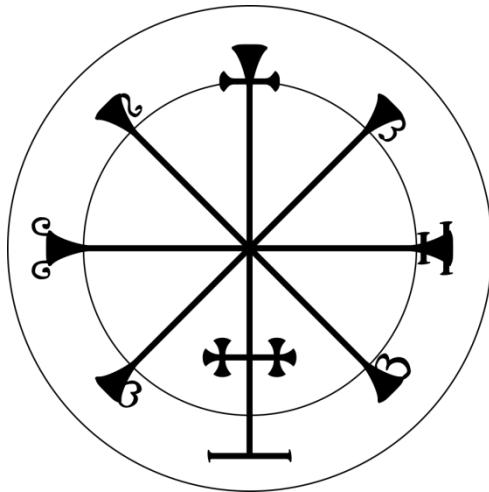
*This Figure delivereth from all sorte of  
Enimies visible and invisible, & all earthly  
Evills.*



*This Figure makes a Man secure in an  
Evill day.*



*This Sigill hath that name which Straon  
beareth in his forehead by being commanded.*

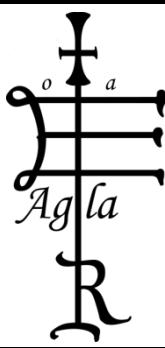
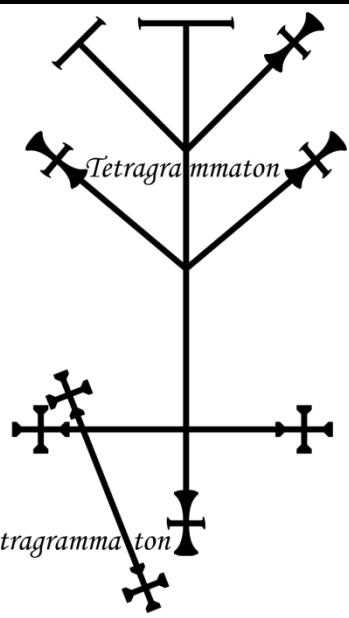
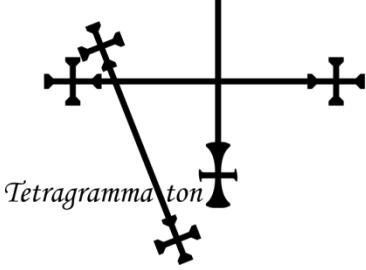
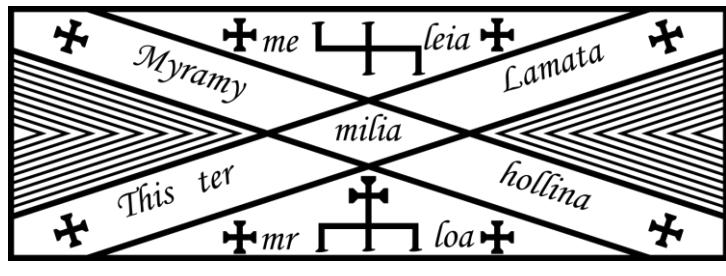
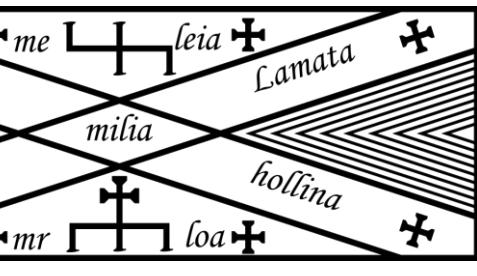


*In whatsoever day you see this Figure, you  
shall not feare suddaine death.*

[75v]

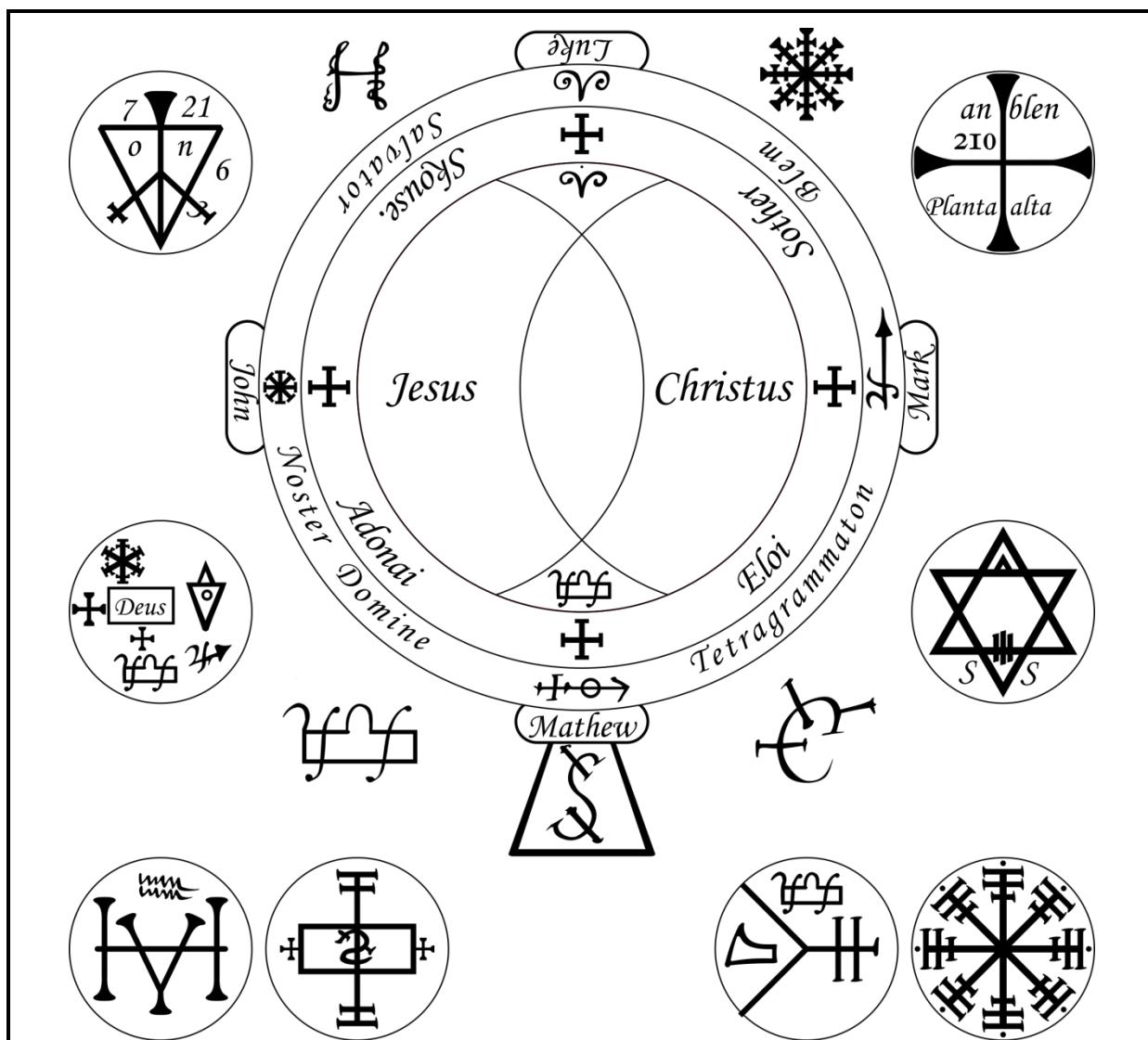
[This page contains only four empty double circles.]

[76r]

 <p>Agla</p>	 <p>Tetragrammaton</p>	<p><u>The Fore part</u></p> <p>בָּזָזָז</p>
<p>He that beareth this signe about him, shalbe holpen in every neede or necessity.</p>	 <p>Tetragrammaton</p>	<p><u>The Hinder part</u></p> <p>צָמָרְבָּה</p>
<p>These two Sigills are for one &amp; y<sup>e</sup> same purpose.</p>		<p>This Ligature freeth &amp; preserveth a Man from all mischief &amp; affrightmente of Enimies &amp; evill Spirits, &amp; all other dangers whatsoever, either of Journies Waters, Arms or any other engagement or conteste, &amp;c.<sup>212</sup></p>
 <p>Myramy</p>	 <p>Lamata</p>	<p>This Signe, engraven in brass, is for winning, &amp; for health.</p>
 <p>Angelus Lunæ Angelus Mercurii Angelus Martis Angelus Solis Angelus Veneris Angelus Jovis Angelus Saturni Oberion Glorianus Phthon Storax Abamefra Panton Carmelion Angelus Carmelion Angelus Mercurii Angelus Martis Angelus Solis Angelus Veneris Angelus Jovis Angelus Saturni Angelus Lunæ</p>	<p>[No explanation of this figure is given in the MS and the space to the right of it is blank.<sup>213</sup>]</p>	

<sup>212</sup> The two rows of Hebrew letters are the initial and final letters of the first five verses of Genesis. This talisman is described by Agrippa, OOP Book III chap. 11 (pp. 377-8).

<sup>213</sup> A similar set of names (allowing for textual corruption from repeated copying) appears in Wellcome MS. 110 (16<sup>th</sup>-century), fol. 68r. An "Angel of the Sun" called *Storax* is also mentioned in the Folger "Book of Magic" (p. 186 and elsewhere), and a *Carmelyon* or *Carmelion* is cited alongside *Storax* in the same work as part of a conjuration of *Oberion*.

[76v] *[To Bind Witches & Thieves.]*

I binde all sorts of the Enimies of God by his holy & blessed Name + I binde all sorts of Witches & Theives + I binde all sorts of wicked people + I binde all sorts of Ungodly people + I binde these People by the holy & powerfull Name **Tetragrammaton** the mighty God, & by the vertue of all the Blessed glorious & efficacious Names of our Lord Jesus Christ + by the vertue of all the blessed angells + I binde these  Witches & Theives by the vertue of all these holy Characters herein written, That these Witches & Theives may have noe power at any tyme or tymes hereafter upon me **N:** the Bearer hereof, nor any Corne or Cattel, no nor yet of my Body + I binde these Witches & Theives, & all sorte of wicked & ungodly people, by the mighty power of God, þt they may not depart out of this House or Ground until I doe discharge them. In the Name of the Father & of the Son & of the Holy Ghost, Amen. Fiat Fiat Fiat. Amen.

[77r] *[A Talisman of Venus.]*



*The use of the Sigill foregoing briefly explained, &c.*

This sigill is most proper to be made in the day & hour<sup>214</sup> of ♀ Venus, she being either Essentially or Accidentally well Fortified, & in good aspect with the ☽ Moone, &c.: when you have made it, humbly implore the benevolent Layde & assistance of the Governing Angells, ruling that day. You may make it either in Silver (as big or as little as you please) & wear it about your neck, or write it on Virgin Parchment, with the blood of a Batt, & touch the Party whome you would have to love you in any part of the bare skin before, & you shall shell see the effect thereof imediately to answer your expectation: Also when you touch the Party, you shall say these words, *Attrica, Monjoy, Zoijco*, (being the last three words written in the Circle) & likewise you shall say these following words before & after you petition for the ayd & assistance of the then regulation Angells of that day, (as aforesaid) & alsoe before & after you touch the party therewith *Sicia, Donemus, Culteantea, Rephantea*. This being rightly observed & duly performed you may Obteyne the Love & Favour of all Persons (of what Sex soever) Provided things be not misunderstood, & put to a wrong use, contrary to the true meaning & purport hereof, &c.

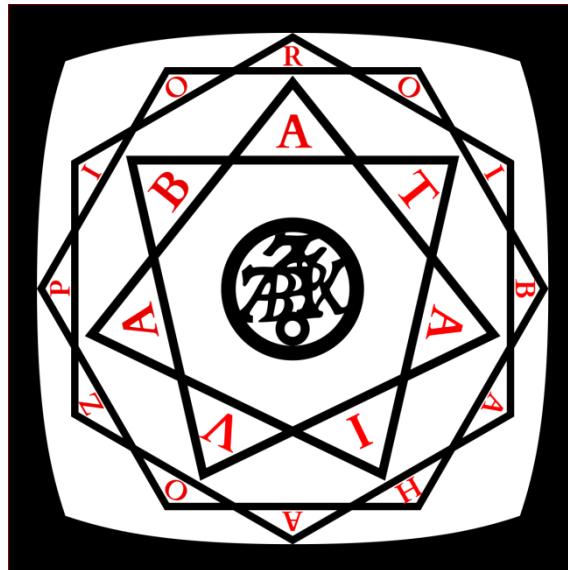
[77v] [Blank page, save for bleed-through from 77r & blots.]

[78r-79v] [Four talisman outlines on each page, with no text or design.]

<sup>214</sup> Just . . . why? Planetary “days and hours” have nothing to do with the motion or positions of the planets and are a device for avoiding the hard work & hassle of technical astrological calculations (aspects, dignities, &c.), so if you’re going all out with the latter, the former can be ignored.

## *Another Book of Talismans*

The following figures appear on six leaves (fol. 80, 84-88) that were bound in, somewhat haphazardly, after the end of the notebook in Ashmole's hand. As already mentioned three additional leaves containing unrelated material were in turn bound inside the above after fol. 80. The material on fol. 81 & 83 has already been described and copied; fol. 82 is an insert slip with a single small design on it, as follows:



The names **ORO IBAH AOZPI** and **BATAIVA** are drawn from the Eastern Angle of Dee's "Tablet of Earth" or "Tables of Enoch." The character in the centre, I cannot identify, although it is possibly formed from the letters of those names.

The other leaves bear a total of 37 circular talismanic designs with accompanying text (the general arrangement is nine to a page, three by three, although not all pages are filled), as well as two that were apparently started & cancelled, one empty circle with accompanying text, and some 49 empty circles.

General standard of execution on these is significantly worse than those on fol. 72-75, details are crammed into a much smaller area, writing is frequently borderline-illegible, and several elements of the pictures were seemingly miscopied, marked as being erroneous with 'corrected' forms outside the circles.

[80r]

This made in box causeth the favour of all that dwell within the sight of ones house	This made in parthment when the [moon] goeth to the meridian is to obtain the Love of strangers	This made in horne like a Lanthornes horne procureth the love of strangers & that the servants shall not hurt you.
This made in a plate of grey earth is for favour &c.	This made in parchment & worn on the breast causeth favour.	This made in Alabaster is for favour of lawers & scriveners
This made in harts Leather is for peace & quietness of words	This Sign seen once in a day all hindrances & impeditions shall avoid &c.	This made in parchment with black and red is against all impediements.

[80v]

He that Beareth this sign about him shall obtain Love of Lord and Lady.	This made of an Ashen Roote the [moon] being nere the full, is against the hatred of any woman.	

[84r]

This made in Silver delivereth from all troubles	This made in yellow wax is to escape all plagues	This made in Silver is against Temptations to worke any evill for money.
This made in red wax with a pen [...] yew is against carefulness & [...]rrow.	This made is a Wolfes skin raw with bloack lead is against thought & pensiveness.	This made in lead is against thought & confudness of mind.
This made in Red Brass: [...] shall not be bind not in any worke you goe about.	This made in green Cloath with yellow maketh all things glad to please thee.	

[84v blank]

[85r]

This made in palme tree or parchment is against death & witchcraft	This made in Brass is to have dominion over all ayerall things	This engraven in gold & <i>&lt;illegible&gt;</i> is to see spirits in the Ayr.
This made the moon in Leo is to have dominion over Ayerall Spirits.	This made in yellow wax make spirits in the Earth being called to obey.	This written in a Bullocks skin & worne on the brest being Consecrated is to see Spirits in water.

[The bottom quarter or so of fol. 85 is apparently torn or cut: the top part of three double-circle outlines can be seen above the cut-off, but there is no indication that anything was drawn inside them.]

[85v]

[This page contains only nine empty circles.]

[86r]

This made in virgin patchment serveth against danger of theives.	Bear this for inchantment made in green Oke.	This made in white lead is against haunting of Spirits which will fly away.

[cancelled design.]	This made in parchtment with green Ink prevaileth against Spirits & beasts.	This made in black wax no infirmity nor haunting of Spirits shall hurt thee.
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[86v]

[This page contains only nine empty circles and three words, “Note that <illegible>” in the top left corner.]

[87r]

This made in Cypress is against drowning and to escape water & floods.	This made in fair white wood preserveth from drowning & druncknesse	This made of a fish bone is against all Imediments of water.
This made with black Inck with red Leather of Calves skin is in [...] journeys & from falling	This made in parchment is for going wrong in journeys	This made in Virgin parchment is to be worne in journeying.
Bear this made in a piece of Ash for weariness of journey.	This written in Virgin Parchment & worne upon thee maketh no Creature shall stop thee in thy journey.	This made in Brass is for the safeguard of thy person, family & goods.

[87v]

[This page contains only nine empty double circles (and some bleed-through from the heavier line-work on the recto).]

[88r]

[This page contains only nine empty double circles with a faint outline grid (suggesting the leaf was bound in upside down as each circle is at the bottom of its grid space rather than having the space to write the purpose for the design below it, as in the filled-out pages.)]

[88v blank]

**[REDRAW THE DAMN THINGS SOME TIME.]**

## [Some Experiments of Spirits.]

This collection of spirit-summoning “experiments,” with a focus on treasure-hunting, occupies fol. 89–120 (save for fol. 109, already transcribed, which was a loose leaf in a different hand bearing unrelated material that was haphazardly bound up in it). This material derives from a variety of English magical MS. traditions, some of which are represented in the Folger “Book of Magic.”<sup>215</sup>

The main items are as follows:

- 89r-102v: “Experiment to call out Spirits that are Keepers of Treasure Trove”: three different conjurations to be used depending on the nature and order of spirits being addressed, along with extensive rubric and theoretical discussions of various orders of spirits.
- 103r-104v: Treasure-hunting conjuration addressed to spirits called *Barbasan* and *Baramper*.
- 104v-106r (fol. 105 is an insert in the same hand): instructions regarding magic “circles” (which term the writer uses to encompass protective lineal figures drawn on the ground whether they are actually circular, or triangular, square, pentagonal &c.).
- 106r-107r: “Experiment” summoning a spirit called *Brett*.
- 107r-107v: “Experiment” summoning a spirit called *Birto*, adapted from an earlier process which can be found in the Folger “Book of Magic,” p. 164.
- 108r-110r: “Experiment” summoning a spirit called *Bealphares*, similar but not identical to one printed by Scot in the *Discoverie of Witchcraft*.
- 110r-113v: Two “Experiments” summoning spirit called *Vassago* and *Agares*, with some passages of rubric and figures shared between the processes.
- 113v-114v: Process “to Obtain whatsoever is Desired,” being a slight variant of one appearing in Sloane MS. 1727.
- 114v-115r: “Experiment” summoning a spirit called *Bleth*.
- 115v-116r: Brief notes on various spirits, including *Seere*, *Dantalion* and *Andromalius*.
- 116v-117r: Names of spirits, with simple characters for some of them, and designs for magic circles or circular talismans connected with a set of seven planetary “kings.”
- 117r-120v: Account of three chief infernal spirits, *Lucifer*, *Beelzebub* and *Sathan*, and the four Demon Kings of the Quarters, *Oriens*, *Paimon*, *Egin* and *Amaimon*, various subordinates of the Kings, and a set of conjurations directed at the subordinates: this derives from the *Liber officiorum / De officiis spirituum* tradition and has strong parallels with material in the Folger “Book of Magic” pp. 73 sqq.

The “experiments” of *Birto*, *Vassago*, *Agares* and *Bealphares* were copied by Ebenezer Sibley in the 18<sup>th</sup> century from this, or a MS. of similar content, and in turn copied by Frederick Hockley in the 19<sup>th</sup> century: copies are extant in Wellcome MSS. 2842 (missing most of the figures) and 3203 as well as other MSS. in private and institutional collections.

It is noteworthy that this collection contains descriptions and characters for the four spirits of the *Ars Goëtia* that do not appear in the main source for the *Goëtia*’s spirit catalogue, the English translation of the *Pseudomonarchia Daemonum* that was printed in Scot’s *Discoverie of Witchcraft*.

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<sup>215</sup> Observed, for example by Teresa Burns, in “An Introduction to the *Book of Magic with Instructions for Invoking Spirits*” (2014).

[89r]

*An Experiment to call out Spirits, that are Keepers of Treasure Trove,*

*Either by any Artificiall Inchantment magically, or otherwise of Divine Justice, those spirits folloinwg have power to Command them away, & cast them out; and to doe whatsoever the magick philosopher shall Command them:*

*Names of the Spirits.*

**Sulpher, Caleos, Anaboth, Sonenel, Barbaros, Gorsan (or Gorzan), Everges, Mureril, Vasago, Dantelion, Barbasan, Sathan.**<sup>216</sup>

The first Thing the Magicall Philosopher is to observe herein, is to be well informed, or well to infiorme him selfe by all the best ways & means he can, whether any Treasures are hidden in such or such a place or no, and by whome, and for what Reason it should be hid and absconded from posterity, and whether it be kept by any Spiri commanded and Continued thereon, by any Magicall enchantment, or otherwise by Divine iustice, & whether by any Ayeriall Terrestiall spirit: for this is a maxim in Phylosophy, That there is a great antipathy between us & Evill spirits, & the Celestiall Angells who are our governours, Protectors, & guardians, & are Continually Employed about us, according to there orders & ministeryes appointed them,<sup>217</sup> of God, Although the Evill Spirits striveth & Endeavoreth to imitate the Good Angells, in all things Every way to Counterfit them, whereby many are Deceived, whose wickedness & malice suits with the natures of Evill spirits,<sup>218</sup> of which the Good Angells being grieved forsakes them, & leaves them to there own erronious Will: many times for the wickedness of some person or family, the Good Angells Curses such a person, faily or House, then the Evill spirits have power given them, to Execute the justice [[&]] Decrees of the moust high God, whome such Family or person hath so haniously offended, then Doth the Ayreial spirit haunt, infest & trouble, Such houses or places, & molest the inhabitants, terrifyng and affrightening them, both & other [89v] People adjacent thereto, with horrible & unusuall noyse, and many fearfull & hideous apparitions, neither shall such house or inhabitant be att Quiet, nor shall any of the Generation of any such family prosper, until providence be appeased, the Curse Expiated, and the Angry Angell or Ayeriall Spirit Discharged, or the enchantment taken of from the Treasure, if any be there hid, & the spirit keeping it be Discharged therefrom, & Cast out & Sent away to his place of Residence, otherwise appointed & Decreed for him & thus Doth God punish in his justice, the hanious sins of great offenders, even to the third & fourth generation.

<sup>216</sup> Several of these are cited in the treasure-hunting process in *Longobardus*. There are minor variations in the orthography of the names throughout the procedure; where the MS. is legible, these are allowed to stand.

<sup>217</sup> 'then' cancelled; 'them' written *sup. lin.* in a different hand.

<sup>218</sup> 'of Evill Spirits' written again and cancelled.

Next you are to Consider, whether the place be haunted, or the Treasures therein Kept (if any be hidden) either by Ayerall or terrestiall spirits, or whether [[by]] any Inchantment or magicall Spell, or any powerfull Charmes; or whether otherwise Distributed by permission of Divine justice, for many hanious unpardonod Crimes of some one person: all which out to be Diligently Considered & rightly understood. The Knowledge whereof is elsewhere before Explained &c.: If there be Treasures there hidden, and kept by an Aijerall spirit or spirits, then those spirits here before named are to be called upon, & made use of herein; the praxis whereof is thus:

The House or place haunted, must be Cleared of people, and thereby made private, and the house or place made void of Any Company, Except Such as are Concerned in the busin[[ess]] [90r] which Brotherhood or Society so concerned, in the management of these Affaires, As the Recovery of treasure Trove, that cannot be otherways Recovered butt by this art, must be very tacit, silent, and private in the carrying on<sup>219</sup> of these Designs, neither Squabling or Disagreeing amongst themselves, butt wholly to rest of Rely one the prudence And genuine capacity, or the Philosophick master in this Art; by whose constancy in his perseverances, assisted by the support, Lenity, taciturnity, and fidelity of a civil benevolent And Loving fraternity, his Authority is much strengthened<sup>220</sup> in his Invocations; whereby all spirits both Aijerall & terrestiall (yea & Infernall also) are brought to subjections, & willingly serve the master, obediently doing all his will & Command; And by this meanes Are matters brought to a propitious Period, and Expectations, on all hands answered with a prosperous & Successful yssue.

The place which is thus haunted, being prepared and set apart for Action, the master Suerly knowing that there is treasure there hidden, and that it is there Kept, & also the House Haunted by Aijerall Spirits; at a Convenient time or times, when all thing Are Silent and still, goe to the place, & as you Enter the place, going meekly & Deliberately therein, Say as followeth:—

Emanuel and in the name of God Amen.

O Lord arise, helpe, strengthen, dignyfie, be present with us, and assist us in these our Present undertakings, Illuminate us with the Light of thy Countenance, and Deliver us from all Evill, for thy most holy & Gloryous names Sake, for we have heard, And we absolutely believe, of what our fourfathers that Declares [90v] unto us, the noble works thou Didst in there Days, & in the old time before them, We are thy people O Lord & the sheep of thy pasture, Therefore gratiouly here us, And Grant us our Requests, and let thy mercy be Showed upon us As we Do putt our turst In thee: Lord, we believe, help our unbelieif. *Then, Lett the master & his fellow or fellows Enter the Circle, and Invoke as followeth:* O all you Spirits who have power given you to Execute the Commands of the

<sup>219</sup> “Carrying” (?) cancelled; “carrying on” written *sup. lin.* in another hand.

<sup>220</sup> Written *sup. lin.* in a different hand above another, cancelled word.

Highest, both as to his justice and mercy; O all you spirits [of] great power, in the Keeping of Hidden treasures, and Also of Detecting, Discovering & Yealding up of the Same to the sons of men, for those use it was principally & Primarily Decreed and Ordained, I doe Exorcize and call upon all you spirits, joyntly And Severally by name, **Sulphur, Caleos, Anaboth, Sonenel, Barbaros, Gorsan (or Gorzan), Everges, Mureril, Vasago, Dantellion, Barbasan, Sathan**, In the most high, mighty, great, glorious, efficacious and effible name of the Creator of heaven & Ea[rth] And all whatsoever is therein contained both spirituall, Animall, Vegetable & min[eral] And by these his secret, powerfull and commanding names, **Iah, Elohim, Agla, El, On, Tetragramma[ton]**, And in name of Jesus Christ our Saviour, the onely Son of God The Father Allmighty, the Sec[ond] Person in Sacred Trinity **Messias, Soter, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, Via, Vita, Homo[ousios], Primogenitus, Agnus Dei, Athanatos, Paraclethus, Alpha & Omega**, and by all the power that the Great God of Heaven, & his Son Jesus Christ, the true Messiah hath given both to Angells And Men, by all aforesaid I doe againe Exorcise, call upon, command you and Constrain you Spirits, **Sulphur, Caleos, Anaboth, Sonenel, Barbaros, Gorsan (or Gorzan), Everges, Mureril, Vasago, Dantelion, Barbasan, Sathan**, And all others, having power [91r] that you cast out all Evill spirits, that resideth in, and by Divine possession, haunteht, troubleth & molesteth this place, and all or any other spirit or spirits whatsoever, that keepeth any treasures that is hid or buried In this place, or hereabout adjacent, and Detaineth the Same from the use of the Sons of men, Servants of the highest, & Especially one, who is the first and greatest, who is called **[Camret]**,<sup>221</sup> Duke of Strength, with all others whatsoever they be, that have power and permission to keep the treasures that are hid or Buryed In this place or hereabouts neer adjacent, that neither them nor any others, from this time forth hence forward, shall keep any treasures that is hidden or buried In this place, or wheresoever Els it be hereabouts adjacted, but that Such spirit or spirits, of what nature order or Hierarchy Soever they are of either Aijeriall, Terrestiall or Infernall, or whatsoever otherwise or howsoever it shall be Kept, Detained or Secured from the use of man, by any spirit or spirits whatsoever As is aforesaid, let them be Cast out, Dismissed and Discharged therefrom, and command and Enforce Such Spirit or Spirits as aforesaid, Keepers of any Treasures that are hidden, buried, or by any ways or meanes Concealed and Detained from man, to whom the proper use, right and behoof, absolutely, and by the Originall & primary Decress of our God, from the beginning of Days, undeniably belongeth and apertaineth; and also Enforce and constraine Such spirit or Spirits as aforesaid, Readily, peaceably & gently to Demit & leave Such Treasures, as are here or hereabouts adjacent, hidden, or Buryed as aforesaid,

<sup>221</sup> Name near-illegible in the scans due to contrast issues; what is visible is consistent with it being *Camret*, who is cited in a very similar context in a treasure-hunting process in *Longobardus*.

bare & nakedly Visible to us, so that we may bear the same away for our necessary uses; or Otherwise I Exorcize, earnestly urge, require & command you Spirits, **Sulphur, Caleos, Anaboth, Sonenel, Barbaros, Gorsan (or Gorzan), Everges, Mareril, Vasago, Dantelion, Barbasan, Sathan**, By and in the name of the Father, & of the Son, and of the holy spirit, that some one or more of you as ocation shall require, do appear Visibly unto us, either **Barbaros, Gorsan, Everges, Mareril, Vasago**, or any other, to Detect and Discover whatsoever Treasures lyeth hid, buryed or otherwise concealed in this house or place, or anywhere Els hereunto adjacent unto us and rightly to inform & instruct us, how to come by & recover the same away for the Releife of our nessesity as, or otherwise, again I Exorcize, Earnestly urge, Requier & command you Spirits, **Sulphur, Caleos, Anaboth, Sonenel, Barbaros, Gorsan (or Gorzon), Everges, Mareril, Vasago, Dantellion, Barbasan, Sathan**, to constraine command and Enforce Some one or more of these Spirits **Scor (or Scarus), Roab, Zaym, Umbra, Gijel**, to come and bring or cause to be brought to us, hither to this place, Such Treasures whatsoever they be, what Lyeth hid, buryed or any otherwise concealed and kept from us, in this place, or any where Els hereabout, adjacted, or that you constraine and Inforce, Some one or more of the Said spirits, to appear Visibly before us peaceably, meekely, and in fair & Decent forme, and no ways terrible or Violent, that we may requier & command them to serve us herein, and to do for us, as for the Servants of the most High and Everlasting God. Finally & lastly, I doe againe Exorcise, call upon, command and most urgently & Earnestly requier you Spirits **Sulphur, Caleos, Anaboth, Sonenel, Barbaros, Gorsan (or Gorzon), Everges, Mareril, Vasago, Dantellion, Barbasan, Sathan**, in the name of the sacred & Coelestiall trinity, and by the Birth, passion, Resurrection & asscention of our Lord Jesus Christ, That you cast outt, discharge and Dismiss the Spirit or Spirits [91v] whatsoever, they be, either Aijeriall, Terrestriall, or infernall, that haunteth, incloseth & troubleth this house or place, or that hath the Keeping of any Treasures that are hidden buryed, or by any ways or means whatsoever concealed from the Knowledge & use of man, in this House or place, or any where else neer Adjacent hereabouts, I urgently Request you to enforce and constrain them to Depart therefrom, and leave the same Visibly and openly naked to us, so that we take & bear the same away for our necessary uses, Or I earnestly requier & command you, to send some one or more of these spirits, **Barbaros, Gorsan, [[Everges]], [[Mareril]],<sup>222</sup> or Vasago**, to appear Visibly unto us, and to resolve, informe and instruct us [[how]] to come by & obtaine the same, And I doe by these presents and the Efficacy and power thereof, And in the name of the Supreme head and Prince of your Hierarchy or Hierarcyes, Exorcize, call upon, Requier, and powerfully command, either some one of or all you Spirits, **Barbaros, Gorsan, Everges,**

<sup>222</sup> These two names nigh-unreadable in the images I'm working from, so I simply repeated the reduced list from the last time it was cited.

**Mareril, or [[Vasago]],** to appear Visibly before us, and assist us by all the best ways and means you may or can, to cast o[[ut]] Such spirit or Spirits, that haunteth, infesteth, troubleth & Disquieteth this house or place, or that hath the Keeping of any Treasures, that are here or hereabouts neer adjuyoning, hidden, Buryed, or by any ways or means whatsoever concealed and Detained from us, that the same may be openly Detected & Discovered to us Visibly, So that we may peaceably and quietly, without any Noy[[se,]] illusions, fraud, delayes or any disturbances, intermissions or interruptions whatsoever, bear [[the]] Same away and enjoy itt to our benefit, according as it is from the beginning ordained for us, And [[I]] once more earnestly urge and Require you spirits, that otherwise you enforce and Constrain the Spirits **Scor (or Scarus), Roab, Zaym, Umbra, Gijel,** or some one of them to come to this place And bring heither unto us & deliver up unto us, all such Treasures as are here or hereabouts wh[[ere]]sover neer adjoining, that are hidden Buyried or any ways concealed, And Do by these pre[[sents]] And the Efficacious power thereof, potently Exorcize, charge, constraine and command you spirits, **Scor (or Scarus), Roab, Zaym, Umbra, Gijel,** or some other one of you, to appear Visible before [[us]] in a Decent & comely shape, and noe ways terribly or turbulently, to Dismay or Delude us, Come ye in all meekness & humility, and in peace and Serenity, yealding obedience to my Commands and requests, and the fulfilling and performeing the same, wherefore prepare you, make hast & come away, and bring along with you all sure Treasures as are hid, buryed or any howsoever conealed here in this house, Ground or place, or any where Els neer hereunto adjacent, as is aforesaid, And now I Exorcize all ye Spirits aforesaid, In the name of the Everl[[lasting]] And Heavenly God The father, the Son, & the Holy Gost, & in the names and by the p[[ower]] of your Hierarchyes, and by the imperiall authority of the princes and the Heads ther[[eof]], And by their Seals & Characters [92r] firmly binding & commanding and I doe Earnestly, urgently and powerfully request and Command you all, joyntly and severally by these presents, that you observe, fulfil & performe all my Desires herein Contained, and to doe for me in all your Respective offices, as for the Servants of the Highest, without any turbulence, noise, hinderance, fraud, prolixity, or delay.

*finis.*

Now, although this Experiment should peradventure prove to be long in the effecting, and bringing thereof to pass, and to be a peice of tedious & tiersom practice, almost to the Disheartning and Even casting into Despair the Master & his friends, yet<sup>223</sup> butt never be Discouraged nor Disheartned thereat, butt proceed on therein, & persevere, with faith, patience and constancy, and Doubt not butt the End will be propitious, and Crowne your Expectations with a happy and prosperous yssue: for these spirits are by nature obstinate and pervers, and in such an Experiment and very slow and Remiss in there

<sup>223</sup> “yet” written *sup. lin.* in a different hand above “butt.”

appearance, and Do unwillingly obey & Submitt to the Invocations & Commands of any Magician, until they are urged & constrained thereto, by the frequent motion, constant action, & the Continuall Care, Diligence and prudent magnagment<sup>224</sup> of *(of)* the master in these Affaires, which are not usuall, common, nor Easie, butt to be overcome absolutely by faith, Constancy, patience, prudence and preseverance, always Remmembring that there is an antipathetick Continuall Combate, between the Cœlestiall Angells and the Evill Spirits, wherein the Cœlestiall Angells Vanquish by patience.<sup>225</sup>

If no access or freedom can be had to the place Haunted, or where the Treasure is suppose to be, to act and Invoke there, then recourse must be had to the Experiment following, and particular spirits called upon, to bring such Treasures to such a place, where you are or shall appoint, & proceed that way. We must understand, that there are terrestriall spirits of spirits Conversant upon Earth, of severall & Different Natures, Some are Evill & offencive to man, and doe wander up & downe in this inferiour world, enraged against all, whome St. Peter compares to roaring Loyons, & *(and)* vulgarly Called Divells, the principall whereof was an Angell, & being turned apostate, persuaded many of the Angells to Decline with him, were therefore Driven & cast forth of Heaven, from the order of Good Angells for there pride, with the Divellish Serpent **Ophis**, who was the Head of that Rebellious Army, who to this day are therefore called his Angells, and from the Beginning of the world, the Dispensation of things is ordained by this meanes, that the Executings of God's Justice (amongst the rest) upon such matters or persons, as with whom & wherewith he is Displeased, is committed to there Charge, And these do Confess there fall, and being cast forth into this vail of misery, doe wander up & Downe upon the Earth, Keeping Treasures as aforesaid, haunting & molesting such houses & places, and vexing any that shall seek the Recovery thereof, till they are brought ot a Kind of familiarity and obedience, to Demit & give up the Same. And also otherwise to vex & terrifye Earthly things, invading miners, causing the [92v] gapings of the Earth, Striking together the Foundations of mountains, terrifying & vexing, not only *[[men]]* but also other Creatures, And some againe, by Several Kinds of various and Several ways of De[[lu]]sions onely, do contrive rather to weary men then to hurt them, some heightening themselves to the length of a Giants body, and againe shrinking themselves up to the smallness of a pigmy And so Changing themselves into Divers forms, do disturb and astonish men with vaine *[[fear]]*<sup>226</sup> Some wandering up & Downe in the Obscure Aÿre, Some about the Seas, Rivers, Lakes, Pools & other waters, and moyst Boggy and such like kind of places, some others study lyes and Blasphemyes, as

<sup>224</sup> 'management'?

<sup>225</sup> I have inserted a paragraph break here fot the sake of clarity.

<sup>226</sup> Word lost in gutter, beginning with 'f'.

we Read of one Saying, I will go forth and by a Lying Spirit in the mouth of all the pro[[phets]] of ahab. Some others who are pernitious Spirits, Do lay wait and overthrow Travellers in th[[eir]] Jorneys, and rejoice in wars and the Effusion of Blood, and afflct men with Cruell Stripes of which wee Read in many places of the old & new testaments, where many comparisons are made of them, and Severall names attributed to them, St. Mathew Saith, for fear of [[whom]] no man durst pass that way, the prophet Isaiah compares them to Satyrs, Scrich Owles, Syrens, Storkes, &c: The psalmist Compares them to Aspes, Bazilisks, Lyons, Dragons, The Gospel to Scorpions, **Mammon**, the (the) prince of this world, the Rulers of Darkness, and in some places the prince of wickedness, who is sometimes called **Beelzebub**, sometimes **Serapis**, sometimes Pluto, being the Greek anem thereof, under whom amongst them, **Cerberus** is said to [[be]] chief and is called the three headed Dog, because he is conversant in the three Elements of [[Air,]] Earth, & water. And those sorts of spirits are said to be Evill and pernitious by nature.<sup>227</sup>

There are another Sort of terrestiall spirits, whose residence is upon the superficies of [[the]] Earth, who also have power to keep hidden treasures; but then it is thus: Many times Distract[[ion]] And Disturbances happen to be in a nation, and also in a family, and that the Good honest Inhabitants live in great fear of Losing that Substance, they have Carefully got together by there great Labors or otherwise, and so to save & secure it in time of need, do usually hide or bury it in some convenient obscure place, where some or other of these spirits hath Residence, or a delight to be frequently in, & peradventure those people may not [93r] have any friend or Relations about them, that they dare with safty repose any trust or confidence in, & so they may dye without making any Discovery, where they have hid or Buryed their Subsance , the which when these kind of spirits, who by their orders Resideth or frequently Delighteth in Such a place, finding such a thing, as treasures, to be hidden, or buried there, without any owner left, imediatly seize thereon, and keep the same &c. These spirits are by nature both good & bad, butt Generally they are not so noxious, offensive, hurtfull or vexatious, but more nere to man, and are affected with humane passions, Delighting much in mans Society, and do willingly Dwell with him, and will serve him well & faithfully in all thigns, wherein they are entrusted, and oftentimes doe meet poor honest mean men, women & Children, and are willing to be very Curteous to them, to serve them, doting on such kind of honest and harmless people, butt att such unusall Sights and accidents, for want of prudence and confidence, ignorantly stand amazed and are astonished, frightening themselves, being possest with a vaine fear, so then the spirit vanisheth and leaves them, which peradventure otherwise might reveal some thing to them, that might do them and their posterity good. Some others there be that delight in the company of divers

<sup>227</sup> Adapted from OOP book III ch. 18, “Of the order of evil spirits, and of their fall, and divers natures” (pp. 399–400).

domestick and wild animals, some reside, Dwell in and about much Delight to be about woods, Parkes & such kind of place, some about Champion fields, some about fountains, some about Rivers, Some about Bogs, Marshes & ponds, some about mountains, some about meadows, some about trees, brakes & bushes, some about flowers, some about fruits, some about Barnes, Stables, Cow-houses, dovecoats, sheepfolds, and places where Implements for Husbandry is Layd up, some in Dwelling-houses, some in one place & some in an other.<sup>228</sup> All which is upon the Superfeices of the Earth, and places apt and convenient enough, to hide or bury mony, or any other Riches or treasury in, Safe Enough one would think from any ones finding out, though not att all kept by any Spirits whatsoever; For all hidden treasures are not kept by A spirit, or Spirits (Especially whilst the owners thereof are alive) though generally they are otherwise so Kept, for the reason before alleadged, & those spirits Doe [93v] never keep such noyses, nor make such hideous disturbances, nor terrifie amaze & affright people, with their Ghastly and strainge Apparitions & dreadfull uproars; butt are abundantly more mild, and the noyses they make are not att all dreadfull nor Astonishing, as that of the Aijeriall and the other terrestiall spirits forementioned, butt more Softly mutly & Silently, sometimes by knocking att or against some Dore, or Wall or tablem or partition, sometimes by the Calttering of pewter, Brasse, Iron or Chair & Stools, or working tooles together, & then soon cease & Depart, it may be they may appear to some, whome they have a good living to, willing to Disclose some what to them, but through a vaine fear Ignorantly, that benefit is Lost; At which the spirit being somewhat moved to a kind of passion, seldom or never profeers the like againe, & so many keep the Treasures hidden in such A place, time out of mind, because it is not either Regarded, or not Rightly and Artifically sought after; some of these spirits there are, that doe Inhabit, Dwell in & Delight in Mines, & also under those mountains, and other such Like places, where there is gold & silver &c: and in places where Treasures & other things are hidden & that Lye nerer to the bowels of the Earth; And those Kind of spirits are said to be possessed with all temporall things And the Riches & treasures of the Earth, and are much Delighted therewith, And carefully keep the same, and doe not willingly neither part nor depart the same therefrom. Those who work & dig in mines & search in the Bowells of the Earth, for such of natures Benignities as It affordeth, have great Knowledge of those spirits; Sometimes they are very Curteous & Benevolent, & will go to the masters of mines of such works, & will desire to worke for the amongst the rest of there Laborers, and for the same wages, and are oftentimes by them accordingly Employed & sett on worke, and prove very faithfull And Laborious there, in doing as much worke as two men, butt they will [94r] neither talk nor associate themselves with any, butt when there work is done, and their wages payd them, according to the Coustome of the Master and the Laborers,

<sup>228</sup> Adapted from a passage in OOP, book III ch. 32 (p. 450).

away they goe, & are seen no more, till they Come to work againe: & they are not to be taken notis of, nor talked to, or in the Least affronted by any workman, & these spirits being Knowne by very many miners, both masters & others, they do much observe them, and give orders to all such other workmen, that either have no Knoledge of them, and otherwise through Ignorance apt to displease them, to doe so to at their Perills. At other times they will forewoarne the Laboring Miners, of any Dangers of Perillous accidents, that may be neer and ready to befall them, as when they are heard once, twice, thrice, or oftener, to knock or strike in the same place, which foretelleth the Death of them that Dig & Labor there, if they hast not the sooner away from thence, for either they Are buried by the fall of a mountaine, or perish by the Suffocation of an Earth, Dampe, or some other dangerous Accident. And at some times they are as Vexation and Troublesome to the Laborious diggers, molesting & persecuting them with pinches, Blowes and stripes, and other torments, to such which in any otherwise abuse them [...]<sup>229</sup>: ffor the nature of these kind of Terrestiall Spirits, is Really to effect & Love all those that Love them, and that Keep there words of promise, & that are just & honest in their Dealings and actions, and they hate all such as hate & abuse them, Stiling & proclaiming and believing them to be, what in truth by nature they are not, as infernall Divells &c: these spirits never shew themselves to any they are affected, & in Love with, In any shape butt what is humaine, and altogether indisernable from us Mortals, But to such as they have any Antipathy to, they appear either in severall forms, which often tymes Doth much astonish, amuse, and affright them, yet nothing so hideous or terrible As the Aijerall, and the other degree of Terrestiall spirits forespoaken of, &c:<sup>230</sup> [94v] Or els they seldom or never appear to them att all &c: they are knowing in all arts that Are, or Can be found out, in all the Light of nature, and containe the Knoledge of All things, and understandeth what appertaineth to the Earth, or the Studyes of man In the Liberall Sciences, and in all other their Curious Arts, mysteres & Vocations, and have the keeping and command of many mines Royall, & of great Store of treasures, hidden & buried in the Earth, and are many times beneficial to men as aforesaid, they Know the thoughts & inclinations of men in a great m [...] whereby It comes to pass, that we may possibly move them to come to us with far more ease and serenity, then any of the Aijeralls, forespoken.

He who would call upon, and speak *(with)* with any<sup>231</sup> spirit or spirits of this order, concerning treasures Trove, or any other mineral Treasures Enclosed in the Bowells of the Earth, or the Keepers thereof (if any be) may Do It att such place or places where

<sup>229</sup> Word lost in gutter. Rankine reads "all."

<sup>230</sup> The preceding section appears to include borrowings from the pseudo-Paracelsan *Archidoxes Magica*, specifically the account of Gnomes or Pygmies.

<sup>231</sup> "Aijerall" written in MS. here but heavily crossed out.

they are Conversant & most freq[uent] in, for it is most proper & significant So to Do, & a particular private place therefore be selected of made Choice of, where whose spirits are either Seen or Known to haunt or be frequent in, or where Treasures are supposed to be hidden, or [as] neer it as possible may be, and att a convenient time, in the Evening when the w[orld] is serene, Go thereto & solemnly Invoke &c:

*At the Entering the Circle, Say this:* Inomine Dei Altissimi Creatoris omnium Rerum in Cœolo, & Terra,<sup>232</sup> Glory be to God on high, on Earth Peace, Good will, toward [men.]

*Then Invoke as followeth.* You Spiritt or Spirits, by whatsoever name you are Called, that haunteth inhabiteth this place, and frequenteth this house, Ground [95r] or place, or that hath the keeping of Treasures hidden, Buryed or otherwise concealed from, and denied the Discovery and use of by the Sons of men, I do in the name of Father & of the Son & of the holy Ghost, Exorcise, command, Constraine and most Earnestly Urge and requier you, to appear visible unto me, and my Brethren, in fair & Decent forme, to shew forth unto us, what we shall Desire of you,—& I doe by these presents, and in the Great And most powerfull names of the Immense and Almighthy Creator of heaven & Earth, And all that is therein Contained, both spirituall, animall, Vegetable and mineral, Even the Incomprehensible & Ever living God, **Sabaoth, Adonaii, Dominus, Deus, Eternus, Otheos, Iskyors, Athanatos, Paracletos, Elohim, Agla, El, On, Tetragrammaton**, and by & in the names of his Onely Begotten Son Jesus Christ, the high King & Lord of all the world, who shall come to Judge both you & us, att the dissolution of this Earthly Fabrick, **Jesus Christus, Messias, Sother, Emanuel, Alpha, & Omega**, and by his Birth, Passion, most Glorious Resurrection, & Ascention, And by the Coming of his holy Ghost, the most Sacred Comforter, I Doe hereby powerfully and Earnestly command, urge, and constrain you, & in the name of your Prince, & by his Seal & Characters binding most Solidly, & by the Head of your Hierarchy and the power thereof, I most urgently Require you, to appear visibly and formally unto me, before this Circle to informe us Concerning the Treasures that are hidden, Buryed, or by what way or means soever it is otherwise kept, & Concealed from us, I doe therefore call upon, command, constrained and requier you Spiritt or spirits, of whatsoever order you are of, or by whatsoever names you are Called or known by, though not Known to us, that hath the keeping of the Treasures hidd, or Buryed in this house, Ground or Place, or neer adjacent thereabouts, to appear visibly to us, and to detect & Disclose the said hidden Treasures to us, and Either [95v] to Direct and instruct us, how to recover & take the same way, for the Supply of our Necessitys, or otherwise, that you avoid and depart from the said Treasures, that are here or hereabout adjacent, hidden, buried or otherwise concealed, and that ye demit the same & Quietly, peaceably, meekly, gently and

<sup>232</sup> Lat. "In the name of the most high God, creator of all things in heaven & earth" (reading *In nomine* for *Inomine* and *altissimi* for *altisimi*).

benevolently, in all friendship and love, to Quit [[the]] same, and to Lay it openly bare & naked to us, visibly to the Sight of our owne Eyes, and Surrenbder & Deliver up the said Treasures unto us, and that ye permit and suffer us to bear the same away, & to inioy It and convert It to our necessary uses, without hinderance or delay, and I doe, Exorcize, bind and adjure you spirit or spirits, that have the keeping of the treasures, that are hidden or Buryed in this house, Ground or place, & All other spirits whatsoever, & of whatsoever nature or order they are of, wheither Aijer[[iall,]] Terrestiall, or Infernall; that shall be here or where the<sup>233</sup> said Treasures are, who by their Visible or invisible Craft or Subtilties, shall in anywise Oppose or strive to hinder, or thwart, us from obtaining & bearing away the said Treasure. I doe in the name of the onely Almighty and heavenly God, the Great Iehovah, & in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, Command, bind and Constraine you all spirits whatsoever As aforesaid, that shall in any wise by your Crafte or Subtelties, seek to Let or hinder [[us]] from the Obtaining and bearing away of the said Treasures, that is here or heerab[[outs]] hidden or buried, Quietly peaceably & Gently to avoid and depart from the place, where the said treasures are hidden or buried, and that ye tarry not, neither cont[[inue]] or Remaine one hour longer there or thereabouts, but I command binde and Constraine you spirits as aforesaid of &c.: that shall be here or hereabouts, to Lett or hinder us, from Obtaining & bearing away of the said hidden treasures, we are seeking for, In the name of him, who saith butt the word and It is done, that ye hast away [96r] from thence, and forthwith repair in peace to your order or place of Residence, preordained, decreed and appointed for you, and now I doe by these presents, and in the name of allmighty God the Father the Son & the holy Ghost, discharge you from tarring any Longer here or hereabouts, I do Command, Charge, bind and Constrain you spiritt or spirits, that shall be here or hereabouts, or where the treasures are hidden, to Lett or hinder us from obtaining & bearing away the same, for our Requisite uses, as aforesaid, to depart & hasten away to your orders or place of Residence, preordained & decreed for you, & I potently adjure, and command you to hast away, & Imediately begone, to your orers as afore said, and tarry not one hour Longer [...] peace be with you Amen.

And now I doe once againe, in the name of the Eternall & our Everliving God, Exorcize, Call upon, and adjure you spirit or spirits, that haunteth & frequeneth this Ground, or house, or place, and that hath the keeping of the treasures, that are hidd, buried or otherwise Concealed here or hereabout adjacent, to appear Visibly, & in fair & decent forme to us, to Instruct, direct and verily to informe us how to detect, discover, and to obtain the treasures that are hidden or Buryed In this place, or in any other place Elsehwere hereabout, or that yepeaceably & quietly Demit & Depart from the same, and leave it openly, bare and naked, visibly [[to]] the sight of our owne Eyes, and deliver the

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<sup>233</sup> "saide & where the" written here but crossed out.

same to us into our possession, freely, so that we may bear the same away, and firmly without fraud or let or hindrance, or any other [[cr]]afty or Deceitfull act, deed or thing, to be done, that we for Ever Injoy the same, and Convert it to our necessary uses, And further Know spirit or spirits aforesaid, that frequenteth and is conversant in this house, Ground, or place, and that hath the keeping of Treasures that are hidden or Buryed herein or hereabouts, Know ye I say and understand, that [[though]] I call not upon you, neither with or by name, Knowledge or any Signature, more or otherwise then by the name of spirit or spirits, as being att present altogether unknown to us, that I call upon you with the Toungue, Heart & spirit of faith and Confidence, [[for]] we doe veryly & sincerly beleeve of you, and that you are, & that our [96v] forefathers have reported and declared to us, of you, & in all things concerning you, And of all these noble Services you have done for them, and of your worthy freindship And familiarity with them, & we also absolutely believe you to be as courteous, freindly & Benevolent to whom you please, and have love to, and that Simphathize in faith Love and Freindship with you, as you are justly displeased and adversely obstinate to such, who[[se]] Willfull, pervers and blind Ignorance, doth not only misbelieve, and are wholly incredible of you, butt also much abuse you, in their most Grosse & scurrilous Language, frequent Discourses, & most abominable mistakes; all which willfull ob[[...]] scurrility, abuseiveness And incredulity, we doe here in the presents of heaven, And Earth, and of all the Good Angells and spirits, utterly detest and abhor, and doe Absolutely protest against It as most ridiculous, impertinent & hereticall &c: Therefore we verily, absolutely & clearly believe of you, & desire freindship with you, and the help Councill & instructions, and all such personall and visible Assistances, as we shall Rationally Requier of you, according to your orders and offices appointed you of Alm[[ighty]] God, be pleased redily to assist us in all such of our Terrestiall Affairs, & more Espe[[cially]] Concerning all hidden treasures, and mines of Gold or Silver &c: that wee shall at any time aske or seeke for, according to your Customes and usuall formalitys, or as shall best please and beseeme your Goodness & benevolence herein, any manner of wise and in all freindship and humanity, to accommodate, instruct, assist and serve us [[in]]

And now having thus far declared, and in all fidelity and honest integrity, without f[[ear]] (as I humbly conceive) unbowedled and unmasked ourselves, in our more Reasonable beleifes & confidences, both of you & in our affairs, & of your favourable Resolves and freindly Assistance therein, & in the name, and by the power of the prince [97r] and head of your Hierarchy, and primarily by his, their, and your seals and Characters binding, Most Solidly, Adjure, command and most Earnestly and confidently urge, request and importune you againe, to move, & visibly shew your Selfe or Selves unto us, and to declare truly unto us, and instruct us, how we shall discover and Recover the treasures that are hidden or Buryed in this house or place, or wheresoever else it is

hereabouts &c: or otherwise to bring it to this place to use, and here leave it openly bare & nakedly visible to us, & Deliver the same Really without fraud, deceipt or any Crafty or Subtill devices, tricks or other Delusions, whereby we may be as soon deprived againe thereof, to us so freely And freindly, that we may certainly bear it away for our proper uses & behoofs, And herein we Earnestly & urgently entreat you, to doe for us, as for the Servants of the highest.

Let the master continue Invocating and calling upon these spirits, Every night, from Eleven of the Clock or somewhat past, until toward two; observing to give over at the break of day, especially to follow it very Close all the Encrease of the Moon, and not at all to despiair in the tediousness or prolixity thereof; And when any appearance or sign of any appearance shall present itself, either to the master, or his Associate or Associates that are with him, and It should be moveable, and seem to fleet and shift it selfe to & fro, let the master continue his invocation until it seem to be more staid, & stand before you, && by some proffer, or other kind of signature, sheweth an offer of Love & freindship, and a kind of willingness [[to]] satisfie your desires and then shall you bind him with the Bond of spirits,<sup>234</sup> if you see cause, butt if any offer seem with a voluntary Scess to be pereceived &c: then it may be needless: Then aske him his name, and bid him show his seal or Character, to which he oweth obedience, & ask him to whom he belongeth, the which when he hath declared, then propose your Requests, having them fairly written with you; when all is Done [97v] according to your disire, then Licence him to Depart &c. or &c. — We need not instance further to enlighten the understanding, or for any further, better or more Instructions to any Philosopher in this Art, touching this Subject, for if his more rationall and Intelligible faently (?) be not genuine Enough, to comprehend and improve, what is here hinted, all the instruction of men & Angels availe little, for it is a hard matter to make A silken purse of a swine's Ear, only thus far in a word we shall, give to understand, that by how much the Greater the noyses are heard, and visions seen about the house or place, so much the Greater the Treasures may be judged to be, & nearer the Superfices of the Earth.

There are also another sort of terrestrial spirits of the nature of these next forespoaken of, that dwell one the Superfices of the Earth & in the Caves & Cavernes thereof, who Likewise haunteth houses and other places, & have the keeping of Treasures that are hidden or Buryed therein, who are somewhat more humane & courteous by nature then the former, and are more feminine And delight in the Company of women & Children, and more Especially of Such who are wholly inclined to housewifery, as maidservants &c: but they poor souls being by fear and ignorance also, many times affrighted &

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<sup>234</sup> "Bond of spirits" is another reasonable translation of *Vinculum spirituum*. This notebook did not include the text of the *Vinculum*; possibly it was something the compiler assumed any magician worthy of the name would know about & have access to.

astonished, at the Least unusuall sight nor noyse, of any of them, doe thereby Loose many Beniftts yet notwithstanding to such as they bear Love & Kindness too, they are very benevo[[lent]] and friendly &c: and are againe as obnoxious and offendive to them as they hate. And they are a vespertine, nocturnall wandering spirits, who many times vis[[it]] to some, even from Sun Setting to its Rising the next morn:—

Those Kind of spirits are more frequently visible then any others, and are the Least of the Herarchyes, and where they Haunt or do keep any hidden Treasures, they make no great matter of Noyse or Disturbance, their Noyse seemeth much as the treadings [[or]] [98r] tramlins of many people, & sometimes as if there were a preparation to some great Feast, as if there were two or three Cooks at worke in the Kitching, and the jack going, the [...]al Rouling to & fro in the oven, and all such kind of Noyses, as if many folks were att worke, which are not so hideous or terrible as other spirits do make.

These spirits may be also called upon as the other, in such places where either they haunt or are most frequent in, and the place which is appointed or set apart for action, must be Suffumigated with good Aromatick Odorurs, and a Cleane Cloath spread on the Ground or a table nine foot distant from the Circle, upon which there must be Either a Chicken or any Kind of small joint, or peice of meat handsomely Rosted, and a white manthet, a Basin or like Dish like a Coffe Dish of fair Running water, hafe a point of Sack in a bottle, a bottle of Ale Containing a Quart, some have added a pint of Cream in [[a]] dish which Ceremonies they are much pleased & delighted with; and doth allure them to friendly familiarity willingly & Readily fulfilling your desires &c: without much difficulty, and some have used noe Circle att all, to the Calling of these spirits, but only being Cleane washed and apparrelled, sit att another table or place only covered, with [[a]] Cleane linen Cloath, nine foot distant & so invocate.<sup>235</sup>

These Kind of Terrestiall spirits are Vulgarly Called of all people generally [[Fairies]] or Elphs, and the natures and Qualitys of them are well known to many. Of these Spirits there ae two who are set over the Hierarchy, as the Supream head thereof, whose names are **Mycob** and **Oberion**,<sup>236</sup> under whom again are Seven Sisters, placed as the next

<sup>235</sup> This recalls the process in the *Fourth Book* of pseudo-Agrippa for invocation of terrestrial spirits, although the “table ritual,” as Dan Harms terms it (see, e.g., “Hell and Fairy” in *Knowing Demons, Knowing Spirits*), has antecedents long predating that, for example in French fairy traditions (see also K.M. Briggs, “Some Seventeenth-Century Books of Magic” in *Folk-Lore* vol. LXIV no. 4 (1953)). The pseudo-Agrippa process does not mandate the use of a circle, but suggests it if the operator fears some bad (*nequam*) spirit, although the effectiveness of the circle is rendered questionable by the instruction to have part of the table inside it and part outside. Making the circle optional reflects a different attitude towards these particular spirits compared to the “evil,” “infernal,” “fallen” or just dubious ones addressed in the previous two processes.

Other versions appear in the Faustian magical manual, *Magia Naturalis et Innaturalis* (see Butler, *Ritual Magic*, pp. 169-171), and in various 18<sup>th</sup>-century printed French grimoires such as the *Grimorium Verum* and *Grimoire of Honorius*, as “Pour faire venir trois demoiselles ou trois messieurs dans sa chamber après souper.”

<sup>236</sup> Queen *Mycob* (or *Micob*) and king *Oberion* (or *Oberyon*) are cited in V.b. 26 (ca. 1580), the latter so frequently that when the “Book of Magic” was typeset and published, the editors titled it *The Book of Oberon*. *Oberion* is also mentioned some 50 years prior to that as being a spirit called on by treasure hunters operating in

principall, whose names are **Lilia, Restilia, Foca, Folla, Africa, Julia, Venulla**,<sup>237</sup> under whom again are many Legions as Subjects and Subservient &c: who (as aforesaid) wander to & fro apon the Earth, and have the keeping also of many Treasures that are hidden or Buryed, especially such as are hidden in those places, that they frequent, inhabit or delight in, and that are innocently hidden by good honest people; [98v] either for Security, or future preservation, who many times dye, & leave the same unrevealed, then are such treasures seized on and kept by these terrestiall Elphs; if ever they happen to come where it is &c. then the magical Philosopher understanding, that any treasures are kept by the terrestiall spirits of this order, And would obtaine the same, and would have converse with them, let him observe the foregoing directions, and att the appointed time repair to the place assigned for action, and invocate as followeth:

I Exorcise, adjure, call upon, urge and earnestly Requier you terrestrial spirits, that are the Supream head of the Hierarchy, of those th[at] Are called **Fairies**, and who are called by the names of **Mycob** and **Oberyon**, In the name of the Allmighty, Everliving and heavenly God Iehova, and of his onely Begotten & welbeloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord, Messias, Sother, Emanuel, the high King & Lord of all the world, I doe hereby call upon and importunately Desire you Spirits **Micob** and **Oberyon**, to command the Seven Sisters, **Lilia, Restilia, Foca, Folla, Africa, Julia, Venulla**, or some one of them, to appear visibly to us, or in your freindly Benevolence, to send some one or other spirit or spirits, of your Hyerarchy or orders, to accommodate instruct and assist us, in such of our Requests wherein they may: the which I confidently & Earntestly importune of you as you are our friends, & we are your friends, and all of us servants to the Highest in whose name I now Call upon you and humbly urge, and most Earnestly Desire you, to send one of the Seven Sisters next Subservient under you [to] Appear visibly to us, & to assist us in the obtaining and recovering of the Treasures, that are hidden or Buryed in this House or place, or Elswhere adjacent hereabouts, or to send some one Subject

Norfolk during the reign of Henry VIII, and on p. 80 of the Folger MS. it is said he sheweth where hidden treasure is, and how to obtain the same: this likely would explain his appeal to the compiler of the present work, who drew on many of the same MS. traditions as the compiler of the Folger "Book of Magic." Micob also appears (as *Micol regina pigmeorum*) in Sloane MS. 1727; citations of Oberion do not universally list him as king of fairies, or as a fairy at all (in one of the processes in V.b. 26 he is explicitly addressed as fallen, his name plugged into a modified version of the *Vinculum Spirituum* which calls on the demon kings of the quarters to constrain him). See Harms, "Hell and Fairy" and sources there cited.

<sup>237</sup> The seven sisters are also cited (with variations in the orthography of their names) in V.b. 26 (pp. 67 & 81), in the late 16<sup>th</sup>-century magical MS. Folger X.d. 234 (for which see Frederika Bain, "The Binding of the Fairies: Four Spells" in *Preternature* vol. 1 no. 2 (2012)), as well as in other 17<sup>th</sup>-century English MS. works, including but not limited to the *Janua Magica Reserata* (S5 fol. 40r), Sloane MS. 1727 (see K.M. Briggs, *The Anatomy of Puck*, Appendix IV) and Bodleian e Mus 173 (see Harms, *Angels, Demons and Spirits*). One of their appearances in the Folger Book of Magic comes at the end of a *De officiis spirituum* demon-catalogue, where it is said they [DO WHAT?]

Their origin appears to be as a group of disease-demons; a very similar set of names is cited in mediæval fever-charms, one of which is extant in an 11<sup>th</sup>-century MS. ([CITE]).

Subservient of your Hyerarchy, to Assist and help us herein, and also in all such matters [99r] and things as we shall Desire their Instructions and accommodations in.

Wherein they may Continue this invocation for seven nights from the Hour of Eleaven till two, and invoke nine times an hour butt withal observing that if Any Apparition or Vision should appear, in forme and manner, willing to Commune with you in the Interim, you may then cease, and desire to know the name & seal of such spirit, and when you have taken a note thereof you may proceed to your Demands, which you ought to have fairly written downe, because then they are in A Greater Readiness, and Chargeth not the memory to recollect Itselfe, for being so Stumbled & hobbled in the conceptions, you may Chance to loose that opportunity and peradventure your Design too, but If nothing happens in the interim, then after the first Seaven nights, always beginning the next night after the Change of the moon, you shall invoke or call upon the seven sisters as followeth:

**Sator Arepo Tenet Opera Rotas.**

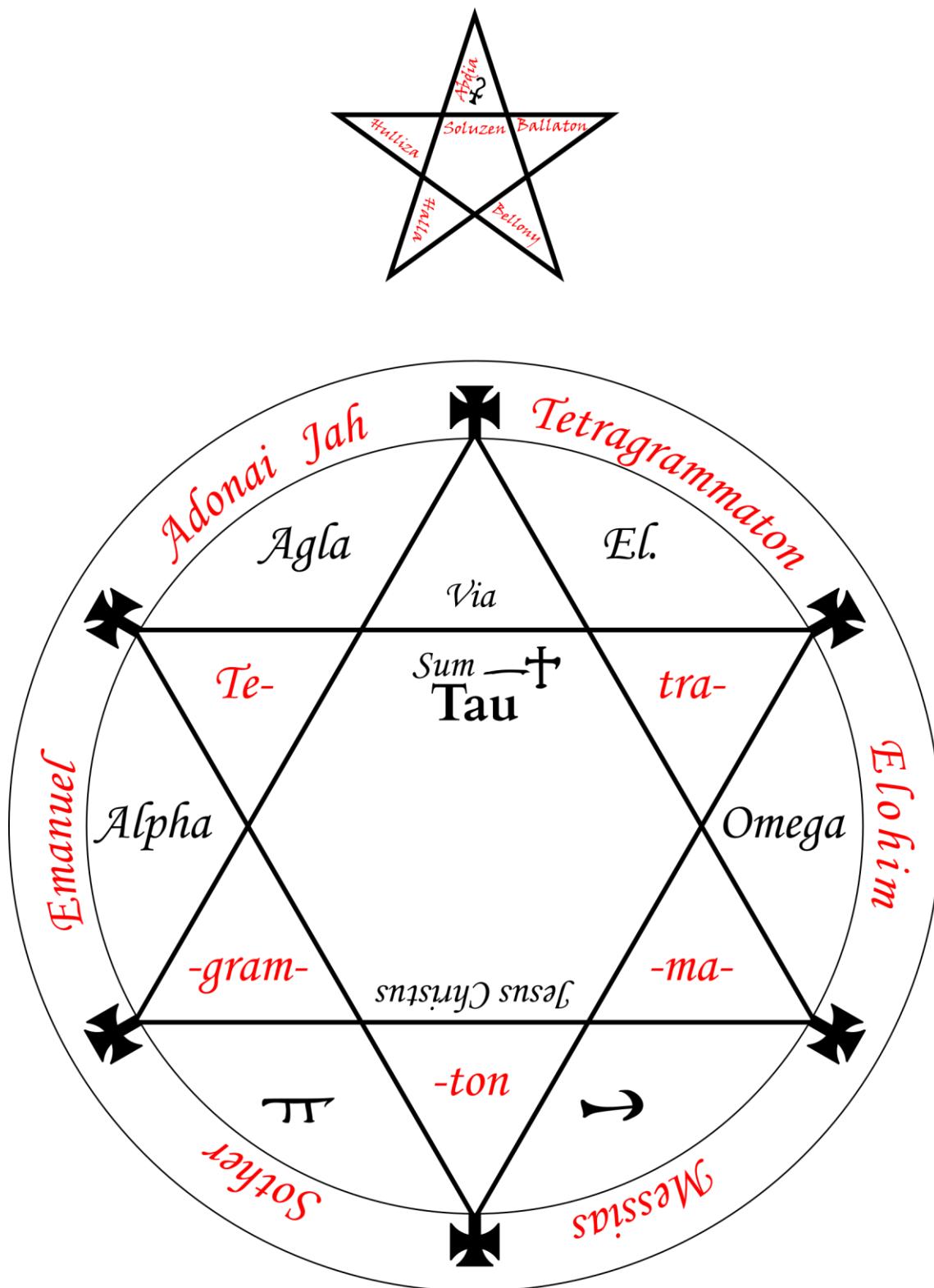
*Kyrië Eleyson. Christiē Eleyson. Kyrië Eleyson. Adonay Cui Pater Cui Filius  
Cui Spiritus Sanctus Allelujah.*

I Exorcise adjure command constraine & most Earnestly urge and request you *Akerayes*, the Sisters of those terrestiall spirits, who are Called **Fairies** or **Elphs**, by & in the name of the incomprehensible God of heaven & Earth, & all Creatures whatsoever are there In Contained and Comprehended, **Iehovah**, **Elohim**, **Agla**, **El**, **Tetragrammaton**, & in the name of Jesus Christ, begotten of a Virgin by the Holy Ghost, and born in the flesh att nazereth, the second person In trinity, And the Saviour of the World, [99v] Especially of all beleevers, & those who lay hold upon him by faith, Thereby Confidently and firmly laying hold one the promises, that whatsoever we Ask our Heavenly Father, or shall any ways act, or doe in his name, nothing shall be deneyed us, nor be impossible to us, in whose name & through whose meri[ts], we as true beleevers doe Call upon, constraine and very Confidently urge and Earnestly Importune you, in the name also, and by the power of the Head and Supream of your orders, or Hierarchy, under whom you are the next In order, governing over many Legions of other your Subjects & Subservients, or some one of you **Lillia**, **Restilia**, **Foca**, **Folla**, **Africa**, **Julia**, **Venulla** to appear visibly to us, or to send some one other of your Subjected Subservients to help and Assist us in the obtaining of the treasures that are hidden or Buryed in this house or place, or Elswhere adjacent hereabouts, And more Especially the spirit or spirits that hath the keeping thereof, Lett [them] be discharged & quitted therefrom, & so avoid the same, and forthwith to demitt, yeild up & Surrender the same, into our possession, so that we may bear [the] same away, and convert it to our necessary uses, without fraud or any other Crafts or Subtilty as that may in any wise deprive us thereof, I do once again

Exorcize, adjure and command thee **Lilia** & all thy Sisters & subjects, By the imperiall throne, and by the majesty & Deity of the Ever-living God, that some or other spirit of your orders, and more Especially such spirit or spirits, that have the keeping of the treasures that are Hidden or Buryed In this house or place, or nere adjacent hereabout, [100r] doe appear visibly before us, to Resolve us freindly, and veryly in all such Matters & things, as we shall rationally disire, and demand of you, & Amongst the Rest in particular, as concerning our recovering and obtaining the treasures, that Lyeth hidden or Buryed here or Elsewhere, & of the spirit or spirits that hath the keeping thereof, be discharged and quitted of It, & imediately in all peace & quietness avoid & depart therefrom, and demit & yeald up the same to us as aforesaid. And the Peace of God always Remaine Betweene you & us, in the name of the Father & of the Son and of the holy Ghost, And do for us herein as for the servants of the highest.

Let the first of these two invocations be observed to be practiced, the first Seven nights of the moons Encrease, beginning the next night after the Change, as is before taught, and then the Eight night, beginneth the Latter, & invoke nine times an hour, in the night season, from Eleven of the Clock till two, for that they being most frequently then visible, and stirring about, therefore most convenient, and opportune, to Call upon them: for God hath so Decreed that they shall not be so visible and frequent in the Day as in the night, Except they are privately Called upon in the Day, because they shall not be frightfull nor offendive, to harmeess & innocent people, for he hat bounded all things, and they Cannot pass their Limits without permission.

[100v] This Circle and the Pentacle serveth to all the whole foregoing Experiment.<sup>238</sup>



<sup>238</sup> These designs bear a strong similarity to the figures of the Pentagram and Hexagram of Solomon from the *Ars Goëtia*, although that was almost certainly not the source; similar figures appear, for example, in V.b. 26, p. 212. The symbols to either side of the bottom point of the hexagram originate as a highly stylised / corrupted Hebrew *yod* and *hé*.

[101r] By these Distinction, a mean Capacity may Easely judge, by what Spirit or spirits, any hidden or Buryed Treasures are Kept, be they of what Order soever, or the Cause, why any house or place is haunted troubled or infested, which being truly Knowne, is by patience and perseverance, and a prudent management of such Affaires, according to this Art, And wherein It is to be Required, to be overcome and vanquished, and the house or place freed from such haunting, molestations & troubles, of all spirits, Sylphs or Fayries, or any other spirits of what order or nature soever, whether Aijeriall, Terrestiall or Infernall, But if the Philosophicall Proficient in this art, and offer his fraternity in any matters of this or the Like nature, have neither patience nor prudence, and the master Philosopher, undertaking the management, of what is Requisitie to be performed in this art as aforesaid, hath no judgement to distinguish Between one thing & another in whatsoever he goeth about, they may goe shooe the Goose.

There are many Castles, old monasteries, and Abbys and houses, & many other both such like, and alos other places &c. that are haunted & infested with these kind of spirits forementioned, and Reasons thereof are more then one &c: butt It is, and always hath been observed, & by praticall Experience found, that generally it is for no other Cause or Reason, then that treasures are hidden thereabouts, sometimes It may prove otherwise, as that some horrid murther hath been committed there, or that [101v] or that some hanious Extraordinary Crimes have been acted, and frequ[ently] practiced, by some infernall inclined Caitiff, not caring what wrong &c., he did in his life time, who hath Lived there, & dyed unrepentant, obstinately persisting to the End, Dying as uncharitably and unworthyly, as before he lived in humaenly & wretchedly: or otherwise some person owning & Living therein, hath been by such kind of Hel Hound, persecuted. [...] & Couzined, & forseeing that his Estate must be wasted, & torne from him and his posterity, & that all must come to Ruin & Destruction, Layeth these things to hearth, falleth Sick & Dyeth in the midst of his Disturbances, & Discontents unreconciled in himself, & so Departeth this world in a distracted condition, leaving nothing behind him amongst his posterity, butt Distraction and Distraction.

The Cryes whereof Penetrateth the Heavens, & passing the Ears of Divine providence Both in all such, and the like hanious and unpardoned Crimes, the Almighty Being so provoaked and offended, permiteth the Executioners of his Justis, to take Vengance thereon, and punish the place for the Cause Sake: All which matters, Also, others of the like nature, is many times much suspected by some, & known by others, both neighbours & other Relations, who fancy many times, having an Occation to be thereabouts late in the night, about some necessary action or other, that they hear some kind of strange, dreadfull or unusually Noyse or other: or that they [see] some more then usuall Apparition, either in some strange frightfull shape, or that it was In the very Similitude, or in the very habbit of sauch a one, when he was Living, which if true as it

may be, is a sign & warning to all people, that [102r] God taketh notice & vengeance of our Wickedness, butt these things very seldom or rarely happen; Treasure-Tove is various & different in its Recovery or Discovery, which we thus manifest from the Tradition of the Ancients, setting aside what we have seen & known by Experience, both herein And as is aforesaid. We must understand, that the two last kinds of Terrestiall spirits, next foreshooken of, being more humane & Courteous to man, then the Ayerials & infernals, by reason of their Sympathy & proximity with him, can & do worke, & amongst the rest of their Arts they use, doe Coyn the Gold and silver they take out of mines, Into that Country Coyn where they find It, and willingly Dwell & frequent in, which is not in all places where minerals are (for they love not all places, though there mines be never so Rich and Royall &c.) neither where they are, doe they talke away or work up all, butt onely a small proportion thereof, so, that still getting a little from Every place, as it growth & Cometh to maturity, always add to their Store. Some other delight to wander & goe abroad, & worke amongst miners, who also bring home their wages, Some delight in other trades, and some to be in Gentilmens Services, still Like the Carefull Bee Bringing all home, and multiplying there treasury, for they are never Idle nor Expencive, nor will accompany with no one or other person living, in [[your]] Common way of Eating & Drinking, though they love them never so well, yet they will worke and doe any Laborious thing for, and amongst men, butt will not accompany att the time when they Eat or Drink: those kind of treasures, are not Easily butt with difficulty to be obtained; Such as hath been made by man & used amongst men, are with less difficulty obtained. And if at any time a magickall Philospher should discover such Treasures, as is of their one manufacturism, & proceed to Obtaine & get the same, and though they seem to yeild up and demit the same to him, yet they will by such Crafts & Subtlylties, as they are well Knowing [102v] in, Convert it into the likeness or Similitude of a Clear Contrary, and base & most vile and contemptible matter, as Earth, Clay, dug, shards soyl, or some s[[uch]] kind of despitable and Regardless matter, or Els to remove it; and then is the Philosopher att a loss: But if any such thing as a transmutation sould be perceived or known, to be either visibly, or otherwise artificially, or by discerning something of a Contrary Specie or Nature of the place, where it Lyeth; yet Lett it be taken up, and let the fire judge of it, and proceed therein after the same manor, as all metals and min[[eralls]] Are Refined and separated, by such means it will return to the same Essence it had before: Butt in Such Treasures as they, as hath been the manufacturism of and used amongst men, they seldom or never doe so by Treasures as are not kept by any Spirit, or that and of the terrestialls should be wandered from, and that Lyeth in some obscure unfrequented place, some person may on a sudden set or work th[[...]] And so by meer Accident may discover & carry way the same, without the Least Know[[ledge]] of any thing in this Art, Or otherwise these spirits foreknowing, that

such a person will [be] At such a place, att such a time, and though they should have the keeping of the seme yet Having a great Love & freindship to such a one, or the like, do quit the same & leave it for him against he Cometh there to work, by reason of which Suddaine intended [...] & intermission, the matter comes to be thus accidentally discovered and gotten, w[hich] otherwise might Lye there many tears even time out of mind, or Removed [to] Another place so never to be discovered &c. Also such Treasures as are Kept by the Ay[eriall] spirits or Terrestiall first before spoken of, as the Executioners of Gods Justis Thereupon, and not so Easie to be found and obtained, as such that are hidden Innocently, Either for future preserva[tion] or from fear or danger of a losse, and afterwards happens to be kept, by the moret taime sort of Terrestiall spirits, as Sylphs, Fayries &c: or the like.

[103r]

*Choice Experiment How to obtaine Treasure Trove &c.*

Having a Chamber pretty free or private, from the passage of many people, in a place Indifferent: Ayery, being kept Clean, and Suffumigated with good Odours; write upon an Abortive or on fair Clean Paper, with the Blood of a black Cock as followeth:

**Sathan, Baramper, Barbasan, come with Speed to this place, and bring to me the Treasure, &c.** [here set down either the particular thing you invocate for, and the place from whence you would have It brought, or Els a sum certain from Such a place or places, where treasures Lyeth hidden, and so kept from the use of man, for whose Releif it was Originally decreed and preordained, by the Goodness of thmost High and omnipotent Creator of Heaven & Eart, & all that is in them Contained, as the sum of 300 &c.]

Then have a Circle in readiness (made as is hereafter taught) and lay It down one the Chamber floor, and have a little pallad bed at the one End of the Chamber, that hath a full or good sight to the door, and in a pretty fair Starlight Evening, first fix the paper, or Abortive Parchment, whereon is written your Request, with the blood of the black Cock, & then Enter and so Concequently the Circle, And say the following Conjuration 9 times:

I Exorcize, Conjure and Constrain thee spirit Barbasan, the spirit of Treasures, by the power and in the name of the Father, and of the Son, & of the Holy Ghost, and by the majesty and Potency of the Omnipotent & Everliving God, Iehovah, who made Heaven & Earth , the Sea & Created all that in them is, and by these his great & Efficacious names, **Agla, El, On, Tetragrammaton, Adonay, Iskyros, Athanatos, Paracletus, Immortalis, Alpha & Omega**, and in the Sacred names of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Second person in the Trinity, & in the Godhead and the Saviour of the world, who hath given full power & Authority to all that beleave, & Lay hold one him by faith in his name, to adjure & command all spirits of all orders whatsoever, whether Ayerall, Terrestiall or Infernal, to serve and obey [103v] them, whatsoever they shall Comand them to doe, in there Severall & Respective offices, wherein they are ordained, and set, by almighty God, and therein to fullf[ill] the Desires & Requests of us, as we are Children & servants to the Highest, & by those Inestimable & unparalleled Miracles, by our Saviour & onely mediator, & advocate, Jesus Christ, the High King & Soveraine Lord of all the world, shewed & done upon Earth, and by him left to his Apostles and Disciples, and by him to all posterity, that beleave by the vertue, power, efficacy and remembrance whereof, I Exorcize, Conjure and powerfully Command the spirit **Barbasan**, And more Especially and particularly, by these Great & Sacred names of one god in three persons **Almo, Glyas, Messias, Agios, Jesus Christus**, who is was & is to come, & by [[the]] High Great & powerfull name Egia which wise Solomon heard in Gabaon, & obtain[[ed]] that

Inestimable treasure of wisdome and Riches, By all that is before Said, & the great Efficacious and inestimable power, and vertue thereof, I hereby Command & Constrain three **Barbasan**, the which if your master shall Command you to doe Any thing that you may doe, that you bring to me this night [*here nominate your desire According as it is written on the Schedule, placed over or upon your Chamber Door, as Aforesaid*] And I further Charge and command thee, that in the performance thereof As thou art bound according to thy orders & offices to doe; that thou neither [[hurt]] nor affright me, nor any other person whatsoever, butt Quietly and in humi[[lity]] Come, appear & shew in a Comely & Decent forme and shape, & no ways terrible to me, your selfe personaly present before me, and Bring along with you Either the treasure from Such or Such a place, if you are certain eith[er] by good Information or otherwise, that such a thing is their, mentioning whether It be Gold, Silver, plate, Jewels, or any matter whatsoever, that was Ordained for the use of man, or Els to nominate the Sum of 300 pound in Coyn<sup>239</sup> And peaceably Leave It here with me, so that I may Injoy the same for [104r] necessary and worldly use, Benefit & Releif. All which I adjure & Command<sup>240</sup> thee to doe & performe, in all things, particularly and fully, according as I have writen, & hereby specified, Requested and commanded of you, forewith immedately without any fraud, let, hinderance or tarrying, in the name of the Great Imence Jehovah, the Almighty & Everliving God, & of (of) his son Jesus Christ the Great Messiah, & Ever to be glorified second person in the holy trinity, in the Godhead, our onely Saviour, advocate and mediator, who shall Come to judge the Quick & the Dead, and the wolrd by fire, In whose name therefore prepare ye & make hast.

Say this Conjunction nine times Manfully, and with Good faith and Courage & then say as followeth, and be not dismayed, for nothing can hurt you, then proceed, *viz.:*

I earnestly request you & Conjure you **Baramper**, that you send your Servant **Barbasan** to me this night, with the Treasure in Such a place, or the Sum of £300<sup>241</sup> in current Coyn &c. [here also you must mention your desires as is before Expressed] in nomine Patris & filii & spiritus sanctus.

Then betake yourself to your Bed, and about midnight you may perceive the Spirit **Barbasan** will appear in the Chamber, probably in humane Shape or form, as in the similitude of a man, or mankind, and will bring with him that which was invocated for,—now if you have a mind to speak to him, before you Licence him to Depart, you may say unto him thus—who are you—he will answer againe & say, I am the spirit

<sup>239</sup> This clause, from “Such or Such a place” to here, is probably meant as directions, *i.e.* an instruction to substitute specific words to the effect indicated, rather than to be read out as is as part of the conjunction.

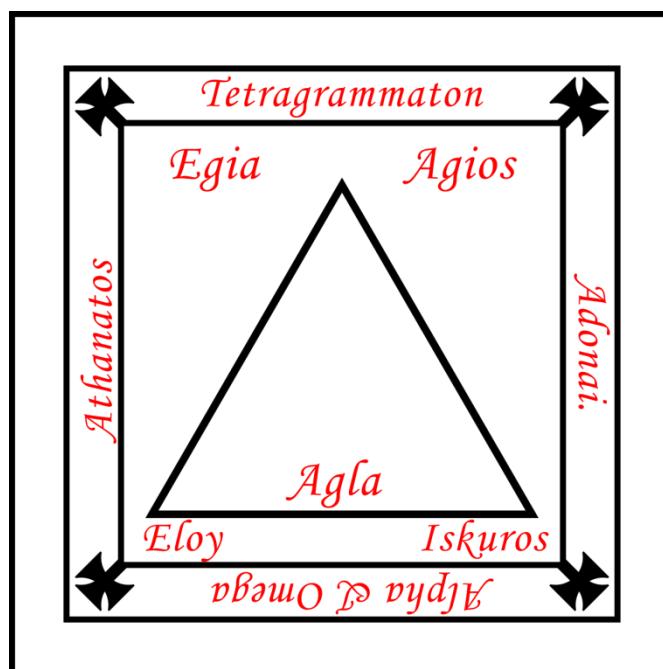
<sup>240</sup> “and adjure” written in again, but heavily crossed out.

<sup>241</sup> “300” written in MS. with something vaguely resembling a pound sign above. Obviously £300 was worth a lot more in the 1660s than it is now.

**Barbasan**, or to the like purpose, bringing to you the treasure, or such a sume of mony accordingly as you have so Earnestly Requested. Then shall you answer again and say unto him as followeth, I thank you<sup>242</sup> master **Baramper** and you likewise, and I give you leave, & adjure you to depart in peace to your orders, the place of your Recidence originally decreed, & by almighty God appointed for you, And I command you In the name of the Father, & of the Son, & of the Holy Ghost, that you neither injur nor hurt me, nor any one upon the face of the Earth [104v] whatsoever: wherefore depart in peace, and let peace be and continue between you & me, in the name of Jesus Christ the high King & Lord of all the world, and I Request and adjure you to be ready<sup>243</sup> to come againe to me upon the Like occation, whensoever & wheresoever I shall call upon [you] & so you may depart, & the peace of God, remaine between us, In nomine Partis & filii & spiritus Sanctus.

Then will he depart, and leave with you that which was Required of him, then at your Leisure you may arise from Bed, and Returne thanks to God for the benefits received.

[The following text, while in the same hand as the above, appears written more neatly and was probably added by the same scribe at a later time.]



Circles, Triangles, Quadrangles, Pentagonals, Hexagonals, Septagonals, Octagonals, &c: be they, of what form Soever they are all 8 Circles in Art, And are all butt one & the same In matter & signification; for they are a Fortress or Defence to the Invocante, aga[nst] malevolent assault of faulse appearances Or Evill Iluding spirits, who are many times att hand, to do some Ill office or [else] to put by the Invocant of his purpose

<sup>242</sup> Qv. "your."

<sup>243</sup> “to be ready” written *sup. lin.* in same hand as the main text.

which he may perceive if he be Learned Or any ways Skillfull in this Art; for he, Being Environed one Every side, with some one or other of the Gread and Sacred Names of God Is thereby defended from any personall assault or prejudice; because all spirits, of what Order under the Cœlestiall Angells & Intelligences &c: do Obey them, fear them, & Even tremble [106r] At them, so that the Invocant having time & Courage to Speak to them, may be Earnest, Interrogating them, to know, whether the apparition be the same he called for, or any other Illusive shew; the which his prudence must Direct him. As for the making of these Circles, for any purpose or Experiment in this Art, Doe thus, Take four Large Calve Skin parchments, and past or fasten them or fixed together, first cutting the insides even where they meet together in the Inward parts, to be pasted or otherwise fastened together, and then att what time, & in what place soever, one is mindful to Invoke, it is butt taking up the Circle, roll it up and carry it where occation & place requires, & so Lay It Down without any trouble, having a loop at Each corner to fasten to the Ground.

When the four Skins are fastened together and cut four square, then with a pensill & good Ink or other painting, or Coulouring matter, Draw the Lines and write the names that are to be written; As in the Example, Then take the Juyce of marigold, Vervain and Langue-de-beef, and wash the Names that are in the inside of the Circle therewith, And the names that are in the Outward Circle Wash with the Blood of the Black Cock, & then is all done & made fit for Practice & Action.

[Fol. 105 is apparently a loose sheet bound into this MS. book; it is not counted in the page numbering which appears in the top centre of most pages in this section, but the writing is in a similar hand. The recto bears what looks like an abandoned attempt to draw a Kabbalistic circle, a completed version of which appears on the verso. I have adjusted the arrangement of the names around the circles slightly so the corresponding names in the two outer rings line up; the inner two rings only have nine names each.

The name of the third Sephirah appearing as "Binah or Prina" in the second ring is an anomaly traceable to the 1651 English translation of Agrippa's *De occulta philosophia*. In Book III, chap. 10, "Of divine emanations &c." (p. 368) the name was misprinted *Prina* (the 1533, 1550, 1567, 1579 and 1600 Latin versions all gave *bina* there), although in the scale of the number 10 on p. 214 the correct Hebrew spelling and the familiar Romanized form are given. A similar useage appears in the *Janua Magica Reserata*.]

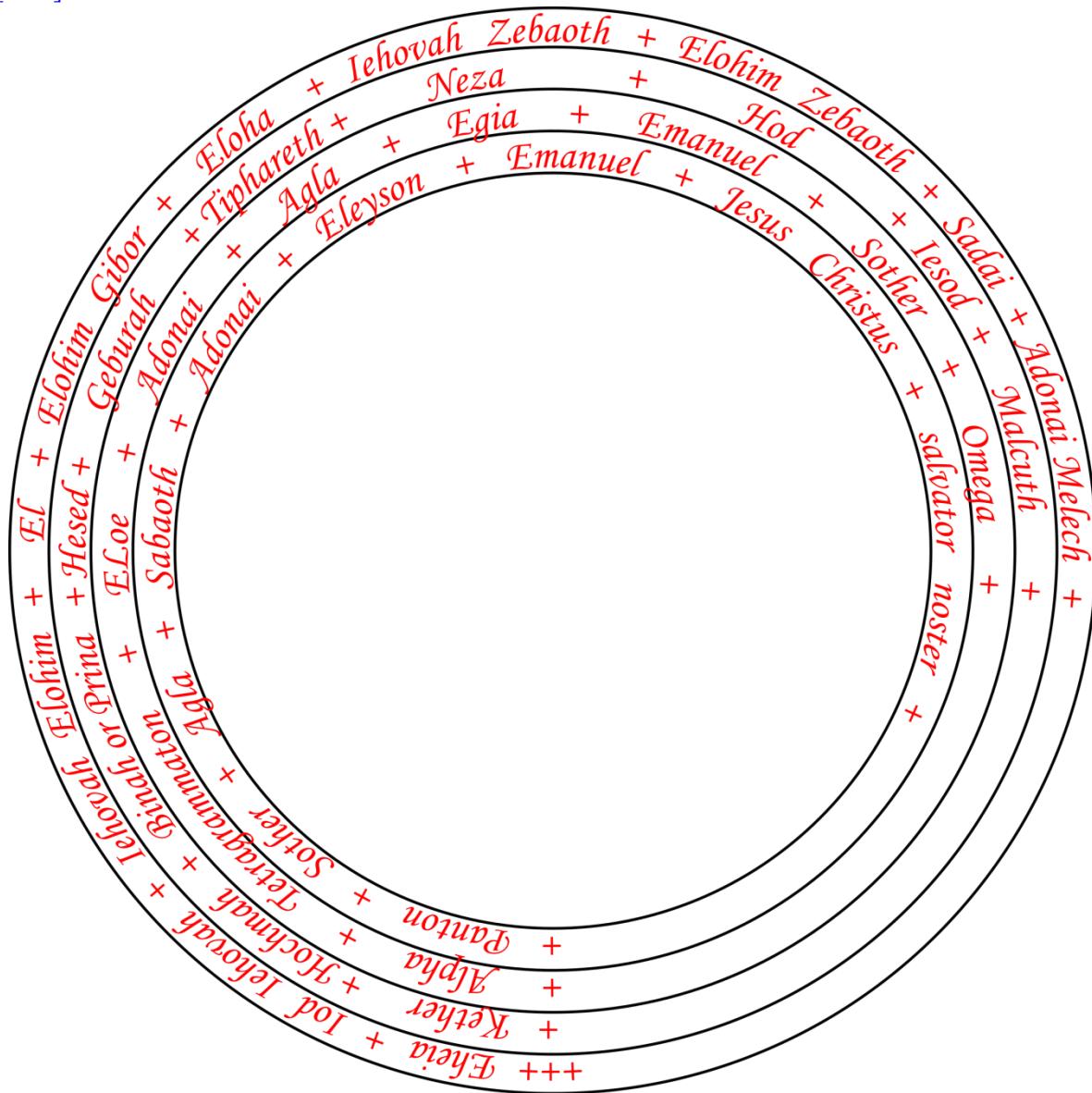
[105r]

¶...¶ Jod Jehovah + JeHovah + — Elohim + El + Elohim +  
+ Kether + Hochma + Bina or prina + ~~Hesef~~ + Hesed +<sup>244</sup>

37 of the spirit B [...]

lphares<sup>245</sup>

[105v]



<sup>244</sup> These two lines of text are written as if around the upper left quarter of a circle. The first name of the first row is lost in the gutter. The name of the fourth Sephirah was apparently misspelt then heavily crossed out.

<sup>245</sup> These two lines appear in the bottom right corner of fol. 105r, apparently cut off when the page was trimmed. The material relating to the spirit Bealphares begins at p. 37 by the original pagination of this section (fol. 108r).

[Main text on fol. 106r resumes.]

*An experiment of Bret, A Carrier to fetch Goods from the Sea*

When the moon is in the sign Pisces, and well Aspected, and if possible, one the munday, or the Thursday, repair to the place appointed for action, Lay downe the Circle in Order, the Copy whereof followeth, and the Characters, the Copy of which also followeth adjected the Copy of the Cirlce, fairly written in an Abortive, before the Circle one the outside, & to the East, Invocate as followeth:

I Exorcise & Conjure & Command thee spirit **Brett**, In the name of the father & of the son & of the Holy Ghost, that thou do appear visibly unto me in fair & humane forme & similitude of man, & I powerfully urge & Constraine thee, by & in the might Great & Glorious name of God **Tetragrammaton Jehovah**, that thou doe for me as for the servant of the Highest, in the fullfulling of all such matters & things whatsoever (according to your Orders) as I shall [106v] desire and Request of you, And I further and againe Exorcise & Conjure the spirit **Brett**, by and in the names who are powerfull & High of our omnipotent & Gratioues Lord God, **Adonay, Sabaoth, Agla, El, Saday, Elohim, Alpha & Omega**, & by & in the name of our Lord & Savior Jesus Christ, Messias, Sother, Emanuel, of wonderfull po[wer] & Efficay, att the pronouncing whereof all things ought at there peril, to be submissive, humble & obedient, by the vertue whreof I bind Character & constr[ain] thee Spirit **Brett**, to appear Affably, meekly and visibly here before me, in a fair handsome & humane Shape, peaceably, & not frightfull nor hurtfull to me or any other person whatsoever; wherefore now prepare you, make hast & come away, in the name of him who shall come to judge the Quick and the Dead & the world by fire.

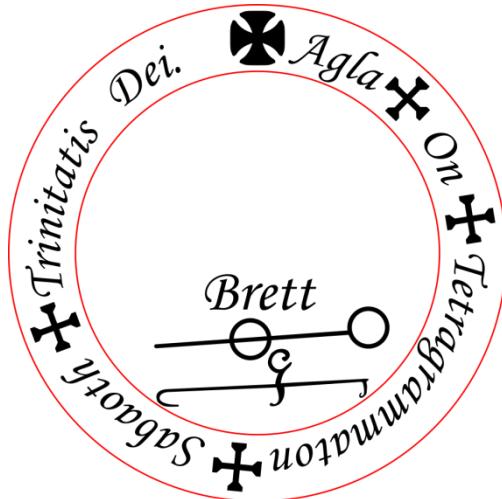
Rehearse this Exorcism Several times, and when he is appeared, then bind him with the bond of spirits, and ask him what Questions you please, & he will Certainly answer you, & also if you Command him any Servis according to his Orders and office, he will assuredly answer you and obey you, & performe all things In Bringing what he is Enjoyned. And when your desires are fulfilled, then Licence him to depart, But detaine him not above an hour or [two.] As for Generall and Constraining Exorcisms, which are to be used upon occation in their proper places, and for the Bonds and Licenses of Departure of spirits, they are written Elswhere hereafter, with Directions to use them.<sup>246</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

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<sup>246</sup> If they were ever copied into this MS. book, they became separated from the other material before it was bound up with the other items. See instead the material in *Longobardus, supra*.

[107r]



These are the Characters that ought to be placed before the Front on the outside of the Circle, which is where the name Brett, And the Character thereto adjoyning standeth; the which part must be placed towards the East point of the Compass, and about a foot distant without, place the above written Characters fairly Inscribed, Either In Virgine parchment or an Abortive.

*An Experiment of the Spirit Birto, as hath been often proved at the Instant Request of Edward the fourth, King of England.<sup>247</sup>*

In the second, fourth, sixth, tenth or twelft days of the moons Encrease, goe to the place appointed for this & the like purpose, and in the Evening when the Ayre is serene, lay downe the Circles and Character in there Orders (as, is hereafter explained, in the Copyes thereof) then Invocate as followeth:

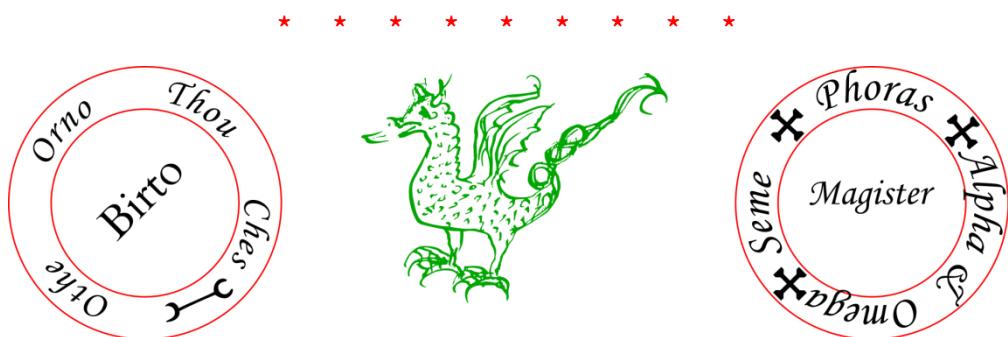
I Exorcise, Call upon & Conjure thee spirit which art called **Birto**, by the dignity of thy prince **Ornothocos**<sup>248</sup> and **Booth**, and in the name of the Father & of the Son & of the Holy Ghost, and by the power of these potent, inestimable, divine & Commanding names, of the almighty & Everliving God Jehovah, El, Elohim, Sabaoth, Adonya, Tetragrammaton, Alpha & Omega, and in the name of Jesus of nazereth, born of a Virgin, the onely Begotten Son of, God The Father Almighty maker of heaven & Earth, our only Savior & Redeemer, advocate & mediator, whose name all the Coelestiall Host of Angells honour & obey, and whereat all Knees on Earth doe bow, & all the Ayerill terrestiall & infernall spirits do fear & tremble, by all Aforesaid, I do you againe powerfully Exorcize, Conjure and Command [107v] thee spirit which art called Birto, that thou doe immediately forthwith, and at the present, appear visibly before me, in that

<sup>247</sup> An earlier, and shorter, version of this process appears in V.b. 26 p. 164, titled "An experiment approved by friar bacon to have a spirrit appeare in A circle to make annswere to any question to be demaunded." It concludes with the statement, "This experiment of **Birto** was proved at the instant request of Edward the 4th kinge of Englande, & therefore keepe it safely."

<sup>248</sup> As written the 't' is ambiguous: I have preferred this reading as being more consistent with the unambiguous lettering around the circle for the spirit, which includes "Orno / Thou / Ches," apparently a variant of this name. V.b. 26 has *Ornothochos*.

Circle appoynet for thee, in fair & humane form & shape of a man and no ways terrible or hurtfall to me, or any other person whatsoever & I Constraine thee<sup>249</sup> to tell me the truth and veril, of all such things as I shall Ask & Demand of thee without fraud guile & deceipt &c: in his name, to whom be all honour, power, Glory & might, majesty & Dominion for Ever & Ever Amen.

Let the Conjuration be often repeated, and said over, with ample Courage, Confidence & Resolution. And when he is appeared, receive him Curteously & Gently, bind him with the bond of spirits, & then he will freely & faithfully Declare, and make answer to whatsoever shall be Demanded, and will serve, obey, fullfill all Commands &c: Then License him to Depart in peace &c.



Let the Circle for the Invocant, which is that wherein the name *Magister* is written, be made as is before described, and let the Effigie or Character of the Dragon or Wivern be fairly drawn or painted upon an Abortive,<sup>250</sup> And as for the Circle wherein the spirit

<sup>251</sup> appeareth, it may be made two or three several ways according to the place that is made Choice of to Act in and the Ground or floor: If the Ground be naight & Rugged, as in woods & Copjses, as they Generally are, then must the Ground be paved<sup>252</sup> & made very Even, so that an Impression may be made visible & plane thereon or let it be made on a large Calves Skin Parchment, but It is far better on the Ground. And if upon a pavement or floor, then Lett it be made or Drawn thereon with Chalk or marking stone, and place them three foot asunder, And herein take a serious & Deliberate Concideration, and let Reason & prudence be they principall Guide, without which principles, a magician is but a Shadow to a Substance, and shall as soon miss as hit of his Expectations.

<sup>249</sup> "that" apparently written but heavily crossed out; "thee to" written *sup. lin.* in a different hand.

<sup>250</sup> In the Folger MS., the dragon (its tail knotted and ending with a snake's head) appears as an outline illustration at the top of the page, possibly meant to represent the form of the spirit itself (the name "Birto" has been pencilled next to it in, the letters outlined in a black-letter style, but not inked in) and there is no instruction to draw the thing as part of the ritual.

<sup>251</sup> Blank space in MS., probably where the scribe intended to go back and write the name in red ink.

<sup>252</sup> From the context, simply means "flattened" rather than actually laying down stone slabs.

[108r] *Of the Spirit Bealphares.*<sup>253</sup>

T[o] invoke, call upon & have Converse with this spirit **Bealphares**, these Rules are to be observed. On thursday or Frideay in the Encrease of the moon, repair to the place appointed for Action, and write on a piece of Virgin parchment, as here after foloweth in the Copy and write also on a girdle or Thong of a Lyons, or a Harts, or Bucks Skin, as, also hereafter followeth, with Directions thereunto annexed, and before you Enter the Circle, to Invoke write + **Agla** one the right hand on the left hand these Characters + <sup>254</sup> and when you Enter the Circle, make the Signe of the Cross thereon and Say, *Per Crucis hoc Signum fugiat procul omne malignum: & per idem Signum Salvator quodque Benignum*, then Invoke as followeth, being Couragious & not att all Dismayed, att first before Invocation, rehearsing the words written on the Brest plate, *viz.*, *Homo Saccarus Muselomeas Cherubosea*.

I Exorcize Conjure and Command the spirit Bealphares by & in the great name of the Omnipotent and Everliving God, **Jehovah Tetragrammaton**, **Agla**, **El**, **On**, **Jah**, **Adonay**, **Saday**; and by his mighty, hold and unspeakable majesty & goodness, and by & in the great Powerfull (inestimable,) & inestimable names of his onely Begotten Son Jesus Christ our Lord, the Redeemer of the world, the second person in the Trinity, Sitting at the right hand of the Father, the maker of heaven & Earth, **Messias**, **Sother**, **Emanuel**, **Alpha**, & **Omega**, & by the truest & most Especially names of your master, I doe hereby powerfully Exorcize, Command & Constrain thee Spirit **Belphares**, to come & appear visibly here before this Circle, in fair & humane shape of man or woman Kind, & not terrible by any manner of ways, neither to us nor any other person whatsoever, this Circle being our tuition<sup>255</sup> and defence, through the mercifull Goodness our Heavenly God & Loving father, I command you to make hast & come away, and shew thy self visibly apparently & peaceably to us here before this Circle, immediately, without tarrying or delay, & with all Humility & obedience, doing whatsoever I shall Request and

<sup>253</sup> This has some parallels with the “Experiment of Bealphares” in Scot’s *Discoverie of Witchcraft* Book XV chap. 13-14, but the form of conjuration is completely different: it is unclear if the present version was modified from Scot’s printing or derived independently from a divergent MS. tradition. Scot’s text (said to have been copied from a MS. dated 1570) described the spirit as “the noblest carrier that ever did serve anie man upon the earth [...] if thou wilt command him to tell thee of hidden treasures that be in anie place, he will tell it thee: or if thou wilt command him to bring to thee gold or silver, he will bring it thee: or if thou with go from one countrie to another, he will beare thee without anie harme of bodie or soule” which would explain the appeal to the compiler of the present collection. The form of binding also implies that the spirit can advise the magician on “how to come to dignities and knowledge” of “the magike art” and the seven “liberal arts.”

<sup>254</sup> Blank space in MS. after the cross; possibly the scribe intended to look up the actual characters later, or write them in red ink, but never actually did so. Scot gives the characters for the left hand thus:



<sup>255</sup> An obsolete use of this word, meaning something like “safety” (from Lat. *tutus -a -um*).

desire of you, without any Illusion, Guile or deceipts, whatsoever, butt faithfully truly & certainly to answer, fullfill & performe Such things as I shall require of you, All which I here powerfully conjure & Constrain you, in the name of him who Said & It was Done, Even the most Great & Incomprehensible God, the Creator of Heaven & Earth, who shall come to judge the Quick & the Dead, & the world by fire.

[108v] This Spirit is somewhat obstinate & pernitious, by nature, and is therefore as usually more slow & prolix In his appearance, wherefore It is Requisitie, that the Invocant should preservere herein, with Constancy fervency & patience, & [not] to Despair at all, though the Experiment may prove more tedious then is Ex[pec]ted, for at length he will appear, and his coming is very Sudden, and his motion Is, very swift, therefore Lett the Exorist Rehease the Invocation as oft as he may well do, according as his Reason & prudence shall direct him, as att Every halfe Quarter of the Hour whilst he is upon Action, & be very Diligent to Discover his appearance and motion, that he may Imediately Receive him & bind him with the bond of spirits, to stay & abide so long peacably and obediently with him, in such forme & shape, as he shall appoint or approve & until his demands and desires be fulfilled, which when done License him to Depart: he Resolveth many dubious Quæries, and is also a carrier as is said of **Brett**.

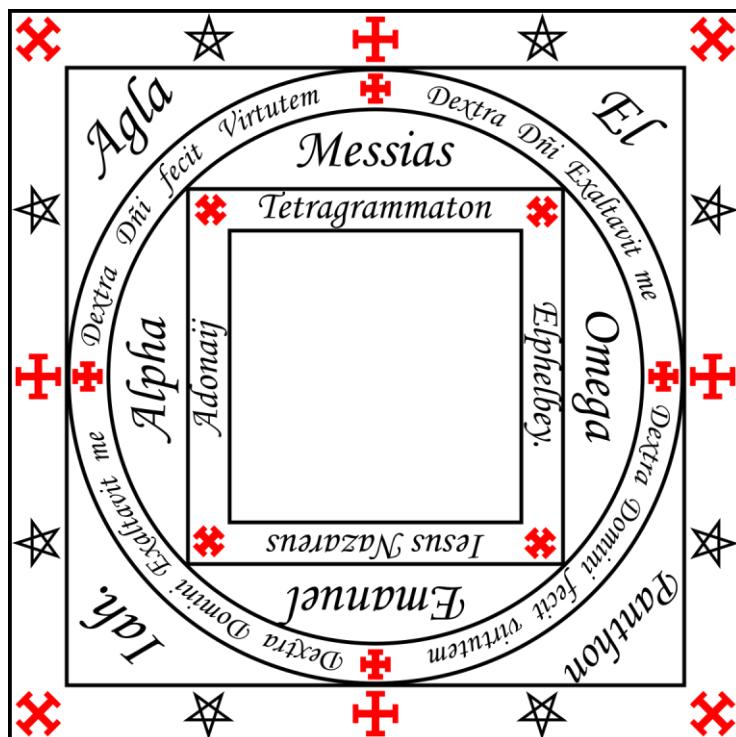
And withal observed both in this and all other Experiments of Ayerall spirits, That as soon as a spirit is bound and is perceived to become obedient & familiar (as by degrees they will) that your Questions & demands be first Concluded & Resolved on and fairly written in paper or parchment, that you may have them ready, to propose as occasion shall Requier.

\* \* \* \* \*

[110r]<sup>256</sup> This that followeth is to be written on a Girdle, made in Leather or parchment, of the skin of a Lyon or of a heart, and put on by the Invocant before he Entereth the Circle, & so by him to be worne, so long as he is upon Action, **Elie, Elion, Escherie, Deus, Eternus, Elos, Clemens, Deus Sanctus, Sabaoth, Deus Exorcituum, Adonay, Deus mirabilis, Iao, Verax, Anephexeton, Deus Ineffabilis, Saday, Dominator Dominus, On Fortissimus, Agla, On, Tetragrammaton, Alpha & Omega.**

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<sup>256</sup> As already noted, fol. 109 is an insert containing material unrelated to the present process; its contents have been transcribed above, p. 82.



*This Figure must be written in virgin parchment, and then fixed or fastened on a new piece of Linnen Cloth, & worne upon the Breast of the Invocant, during the whole time he is upon Action in the Circle.*

This Circle<sup>257</sup> the Invocant standeth in, when he Invocaeth or Calleth upon the spirit **Belphares**, and it may be made as afore taught in the Experiment of **Baramper**,<sup>258</sup> & it would not be amiss, if the master Exorcist had a white Vestment or Surpliss on him, & white Shooe, and on or two with him in the Circle, only shod with white Shooes also.

\* \* \* \* \*

*An Experiment of the Spirit Vassago, who may be called upon,  
to appear In a Christall Stone, or Glass or otherwise without.*

[110v] First, Let the magickall Practitioner provide a Lamin or plate of silver, and Engraven upon, according as is Represented hereafter, and a spatula made of Ash, peartree, or any other Solid wood, the thickness of a third part of an Inch, & the square top thereof to be three Inches square, and the stem, or handle to be nine Inches Long, & gilded all over with Goold, and the Characters written thereon, as is shewed forth in the Example following. So having all things in Readiness, repair to the Chamber or place appointed for practice, which ought to be Clean, & a Table placed therein, covered with a Clean Lining Cloth, & a taper on Each Side of the Christall Stone, or Glass, & being seated thereat, Invoke as followeth:

<sup>257</sup> Barring some minor details this is the figure of the circle that appears in Scot, *Discoverie of Witchcraft*. *Dñi* is a conventional scribal abbreviation for *Domini*.

<sup>258</sup> I.e., the “Choice Experiment how to obtain Treasure Trove,” *supra*.

I Exorcize Call upon & Command the spirit **Vassago**, by & in the name of the Immence and Everliving God Jehovah, Adonaij, Elohim, Agla, El, On, Tetragrammaton, And by & in the name of our Lord & Savior Jesus Christ, the only Son of the Eternall and true God, Creator of Heaven [and earth] and all that in them is **Messias, Sother, Emanuel, Primogenitus, Homousion, Bonus, Via, Vita, Veritas, Sapientias, Virtus, Lux, Mediator, Agnus, Rex, pastor, Prophetas, Sacerdos, Athanatos, Paracletus, Alpha & omega**, by all these high, great, glorious, royall & Effible names of the omnipotent God, & of his only Son our Lord & Saviour Jesus Christ, the Second person in trinity I Exorcize, command and call upon and Conjure thee spirit **Vassago**, wheresoever thou art [East, West, North, or South, or being bound to any one under the Compas of the Heavens] that you come imediately, from the place of your present Residence, And appear to me Visibly, in fair & decent forme In that Christall Stone or Glass, *Here, note that the invocant mentions a Stone or Glass, if he hath one, or Else he saith to me Visibly in fair Decent, and humane form before this Circle &c.* I do againe Exorcize & powerfully command the spirit **Vassago**, to come & appear Vi[sibly] to me in this Christall Stone or Glass, [or otherwise as above] in a fair Solid And decent forme, I doe againe strongly bind & command the spirit **Vassago** to appear visibly to me [in that Christall &c mentioning as is above said] [111r] by the vertue & power of these names, by which I can bind all Rebellious obstinate & Refractory Spirits, **Alla, Carital, marital, Carion, Urion, Spylon, Lorean, Stabea, Corian (or Coriam) mormos, Agion, Cados, Son, Catalon, Yron, Astron, Gardony, Caldabria, Beon, Tetragrammaton, Strally, Spyros, Sother, Iah, on, El, Elohim**, by all afore said, I Charge & Command the spirit **Vassago**, to make hast & Come away and appear vvisibly to me (as aforesaid) without any further or long tarring or delay, in the name of him who shall come to judge the Quink & the Dead, and the world by fire Amen.

This Conjuration often Repeated, and the Invocant being patient and Constant in his preserverance, and not disheartened or Dismayed, by Reason of any tedious Prolixityes or delays, he will at least appear, though It may be Long first & when he is appeared, bind him with the bond of spirits, & then you may talke with him pn<sup>259</sup> that this is a true Exeriment, & that this spirit hath been obligeid to the fellowship & service of a magick Artis heretofore, is very Certaine, as may appear by this following obligation the which the Invocant may if he pleaseth, have fairely written in an Abortive, And Layd before him, & discourse with the spirit Concerning it.

\* \* \* \* \*

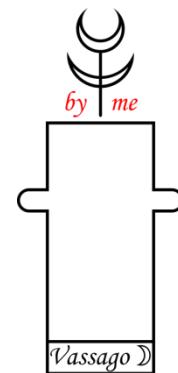
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<sup>259</sup> Probably an abbreviation for *proven*.

*A Bond or Obligation of the Spirit **Vassago**, made to one T.W.*

I **Vassago** Under **Baro** The King of the West, not Compelled by Command or fear, butt on my one accord & free will, Especially oblidged my Selfe by these presents, firmly, faithfully & without Deceipt, to **T.W.** to obey at any time, & att any place whensoever, & wheresoever he shall call upon me, personally to appear, whether in a Stone, or in the middle without a stone, & to fullfill his Commands truly in all things, wherein I can, by the Vertue of all the names of God, & Especially by these words, the most powerfull in the Magicall Art, Lay, Alzynn, mura, Syron, Walgava, Ryshin, Layagannum, Layurasin, Laysai: and by the Vertue wherewith the Sun and moon were darkened, and my planet, and by the Circles & Characters whereof, & primarily by his Seal, binding most Solidly, In witness of which guilty person he Comanding I have Signed this present obligation with mine one Seal to which I always Stuck Close.

[111v] That this is a true Experiment, is apparent; And that this spirit hath been by the great Diligence & Constant preseverance, of Learned & intelligible Magitians, brought to obedience And fellowship is manifestly true, by this here recited President, besides what my Selfe hath seen. And as for the Calling up this & the other following spirits, Either in the Christall Stone or Glass, shall be shewed att the End of the next Experiment, because they are both of one Nature.



*The Seal of the spirit **Vassago**.*

\* \* \* \* \*

*An Experiment of the Spirit Agares*

The Experiment and Invocating of this spirit **Agares**, is practically the same as in the former Experiment of the spirit **Vassago**, who likewise may be called to appear, either in a Christall Stone, or Glass, or otherwise though them, and they Are both very slow in their appearances, as most Ayerall spirits are, butt when once they doe appear, then afterwards they will frequently come at the master Invoc[ating].] Having all things In Readyness, and Resolves upon his time, Lett him Enter his Chamber Or place appointed for Action, and Invoke as followeth:

Thou Spirit **Agares** the first Captaine under the King of the East, I Exorcize, Command & call upon thee, & Constraine thee by calling, in the name of the most Strong, powerfull, fearfull, and Blessed Iah, Adonay, Elohim, Saday, Saday, Eie, Eie, Eie, Asarie, Asarie, & in the name of Adonay, the Goed of Israel, who by his mediate word alone, Created the Heavens, the Earth, the Seas, & all things therein Contained, and made man according to the Similitude of himself, and these most Efficacious, powerfull &

Commanding, ineffable & secret Names, of the Allpowerfull and immense God, Jehovah, Agla, El, on, Tetragammaton wherein All visions, & apparitions are wont to be, & by the holy name, which was written in the Brow of Aron the priest, of the most High & Everliving God, I powerfull Exorcize & Command thee spirit **Agares**, that wheresoever thou art, in any place or part of the Aijr or Earth, East, West, North, or South, or being bound to Any one, that immediately without tarrying or delay, you presently appear to me Visibly, in fair & humane forme, *Here you are to observe, that if [112r] you call him into a Stone or Glass then you are to say, in this Stone or Glass, if you have none, then you need not specifie, but say to me, or to me before this Circle &c. and so the like <illegible> other places of this Conjuration observe the same, where you shall meet with the like occasion.*<sup>260</sup>

Moreover & againe I Exorceize potently & Command, and call upon the spirit, by him that was Is & shall be, Even & in the Blessed & great name of the holy & Heavenly messiah, or Lord & Savior Jesus Christ, born of a virgin, Lord of all the world, and Its only mediator & Advocate, to the Father of all mercyes, & God of all Consolation, att whose great, Glorious & Incomparable name, all Knees ought to bow, and humbly Doe Reverence, and at all the naming whereof all spirits whatsoever, both Aijerall Terrestiall & infernall, ought to obey with all due Reverence & Submission, who Is the great Emanuel the faithfull witness & primogenitus, Alpha & Omega, who Lived & was Dead & Liveth for ever, & by his glorious passion, Resurrection, & Assention, & by the Coming of the holy Ghost, by all aforesaid, I powerfully Exorceize, Urge & Constrain thee spirit **Agares**, that without tarring or further Delay you do now appear Visbily to me, I now Calling upon you, [*Here mentioning As followeth before, as<sup>261</sup> Either within or without the Receptacle<sup>262</sup>*] in fair, Solid, Decent & humane forme, wherefore make hast Come away, and shew thy selfe Immediately, to fullfill all my Request, in the name of the Father & of the Son & of the holy Ghost Amen.

Now if the spirit doth not appear, in Some materiall Distance of time to the Conjuration, wonder not at its prolixity, for (as is said Elswhere before) it is the nature of the Aijerall Spirits, to be very slow In there appearances, therefore Let the magician be Constant in his preserverances and prosecution herein, that this Experiment is also true, and that this spirit Agares hath been called upon, and been brought to obedie[[nce]] and familiar Association, is manifestly true and apparent by this following obligation, made by him to some Lerned master.

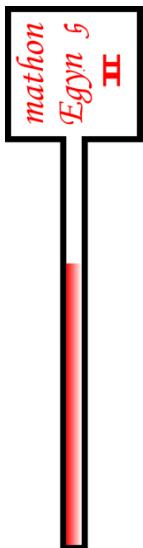
[112v] I **Agares**, the first Captaine under the King of the East, not Compelled by Command or Dread, butt willingly, and on my owne accord, doe Especially bind my

<sup>260</sup> The four rubricated lines at the top of fol. 112r are near-unreadable due to contrast issues in the scans I'm working from. I have restored some of the text by comparison with one of Hockley's copies.

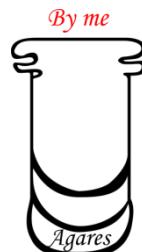
<sup>261</sup> Unclear; could be 'is' or 'as,' the latter makes slightly more sense in context.

<sup>262</sup> i.e. vary the speech according to whether you're summoning the spirit to a crystal or not.

Selfe by these presents, firmly, to obey at all times & in Every place J.M. to do his Command In all things, appertaining to my Duty, & Especially by these words, the m[ost] powerfull In this Magick Art, Lay, Alyzm, mura, Syron, Walgava, Ryshin, Layganum, Layarazin, Lasai: And by that Vertue wherewith the Sun & ffmoon where darkened, before that terrible day of the Lord (as in the Gospel) and shall be turned into Blood, And by the head of my Prince, & by his Circles & Characters: and Cheifly by this Seall firmly binding, In Wittness of which Guity Person, I have Signed this Obligation, with mine one Seal he Commanding me, to which I Allways Stuck Close.



The forme of the Spatula which ought to be made of any Solid wood handsomely not too thick, and Guilded over & writ upon as here is shewed. This Spatula serveth for a Scepter & signifyeth: Dignity, Power &c: the which is one main Principle In magick, & is a Type of majesty In Action, Let It be guilt over with Goold.<sup>263</sup>



*The Seal of the spirit Agares.*

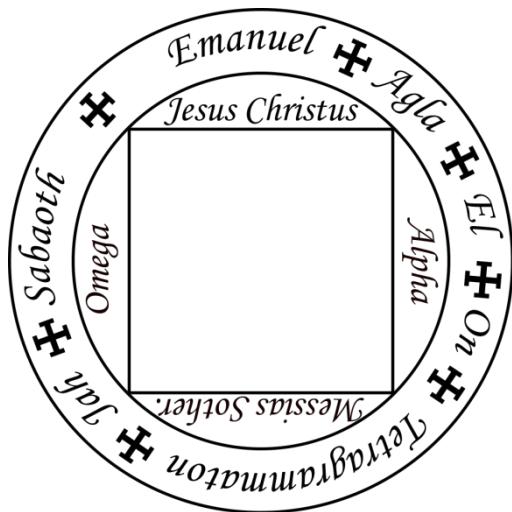


The form of the Lamin, or Sigill, which ought to be made in a plate of Silver, and the figure Engraven thereon as Is here Represended, which sigill must be Hung about the Neck, or fixed on the Brest of the Magician,

And when he Goeth upon Action Lett him do thus—If he calleth Either of these two fore recited Spirits, Vassago or Agares to appear In a stone or Glass, then Lett him set the stone or Glass on [a] Table in his Chamber of Practice, coverd with Cleane Linnen, and on [each] side of the Christall Stone or Glass, to stand a white wax Candle [113r] or Els at Leastwise one just behind It, Then Let the magician fix the silver Sigill on his brest, and take the Spatula in his Right hand, and seat himself at the table Just against the Stone, & his Companions by him if he hath any, and when he is seated, then he may Either Lay the spatula downe on the table, just before the (the) stone, or Els hold It in his hand, Even as pest pleaseh himself, and let him have his Desires written fairly down and Layd on the table on his left hand, Just beside the Spattula, & if he pleaseh also the Copy of the obligation, Fairly written, In an abortive, with the Seal of the Spirit, thereto as is shewed In the Copy thereof foregoing, layed on the Table on his Right hand just on the other side of the spatula, And so proceed to Action.

<sup>263</sup> The illustration of the Spatula of Art in the MS. made something of a mess of the names & characters on the flat and they were written out again, next to it. I have redrawn the thing according to the proportions specified in the text. *Egyn* appears elsewhere in this collection as the demon King of the North; according to the Folger "Book of Magic," *Vzago* or *Vsagoo* is subject to *Egin*, although the "Experiment of Vassago" above has the spirit under the King of the West.

But if the Magick Philosopher goeth upon Either of these two Experiments, or Invocateth either of these too last recited spirits **Vassago** or **Agares**, without Either a Christall stone or Glass, then when he Entereth his Chamber or place Appointed for Action or practise, Enter the Circle in form and manner as aforesaid, Holding the spatula in his right hand or Laying it downe just before him in the Circle, & if he have two Companions, let him on the Left hand hold the Copy of the damands, and him one the right hand the Copy of the obligation, And so let him proceed to action, and Exorcize manfully, Constantly & firm Resolution. If he useth a Christall Stone, It ought to be about the bigness of a goose Egg, it matter not whether It be round or oval and to be set on a frame, which may be done by a jeweller, with a ring of flat wyer, or narrow plate about It at the bottome whereof Lett It be fastened, a Stem of an indifferent Length, as the handle of a bear boal,<sup>264</sup> with a ponderous or heavy pedestal or foot to It, that may stand firme & steady, & then hath he a Compleate Receptacle; And if the Magick Philosopher maketh Choice of a Glass Receptacle, he may have It made att the Glass house of Good white Christall mettall, butt It Cannot be made [113v] Solid as is a stone, but It may be made pretty thick and with a Little small hole at the top, according as Is here represented, In the Annexed Figure. It is also to be Observed, in the making of this Receptacle of Glass, That the head being made as thick as possible, The Glass maker can make It, It will be pretty heavy, therefore the foot thereouf ought to be made pretty broad, & of an indifferent Large diamiter, because of standing them and Steady all which is Easie Enough to be understood.



*Hic Est Circulus Experimenti*

This Circle Serveth for the Invocant to stand in, when he calleth upon Either of the two forementioned Spirits Vassago or Agares, when he Calleth upon them to appear, without Either a stone or Glass or other Receptacle, So that in Either or these Experiments, he may use his own Discretion, Sith the practicall part hereof is already before so Clearly Explained, of the which we ourselves have had some Signall Experience.

<sup>264</sup> “beer bowl”?

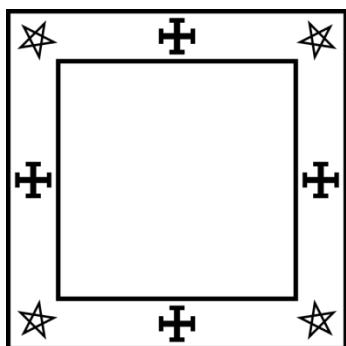
*An Experiment to Obtain whatsoever is Desired.<sup>265</sup>*

Take a Lapwing & Lett It Blood In a Glass, wherewith make the Ensain [...] Square, commonly Called a Circle, though improperly by reason of Its Contrary Similitude, but they are Generally Called Circles in the Art, because they all signifie one & the same thing &c: upon four Large Calve skin patchments, fastened Evenly & handsomely together, according to Art, as is before taught. And Also with the [114r] Blood of the Lapwing, write upon an Abortive thus as followeth, *Beltha Suspensus, in Æthera super ea, Implet, Pamilion, Anarius, Fons, Floris, de, Sede, Baldachiæ, Sarranis, Mars*,<sup>266</sup> Lett this be written in a Chamber, that is very private and Close shut for the present time, And when these things are done, & Kept in a Readiness for use then, seek out for a place fit to do this Experiment In, which much be in an Orchard, or a Wood that is Very private, and free from the Passages or oversight of people, the which Being found, then at the time appointed to goe upon action, Let the Magicall Philosopher having a fair bright sword in his hand, as soon as he is entered into the Orchard or wood, Kneel downe on his Knees, and with an Earnest meekness, say what is written in the abortive, three times over; then Lett him rise, & having made Choice of the privatest place that can be found, goe thereto, & place this Circle, and with his sword in his right hand, and the Schedule & the left hand, enter the Circle and turning his face to the East, Read the schedule over as oft as is convenient, And at Length will appear a vision, like to a fair Knight on horseback, with a Gosse-Hawk on his fist, and he will say unto you, *Why call you me? What will you Ask? Lo, I am Ready to fullfill all your Requests*, Butt answer him nothing, att all And then turning your face from him to the north, behold him not, then will he pass by & vanish; Then towards the north proceed as before you did towards the East, and anon will another Vision appear, like a Comely fair Knight on horseback, with a Gosse-hawk also on his fist, riding as it were towards you upon a very Goodly Steed, and he will speake to you Soon the like Language, or to the Same effect, as the first apparition, butt say nothing to him, neither give him Answer, and turning your face to the west behold him not, So he will pass away by & Vanish.

<sup>265</sup> This process also appears with minor variations in BL Sloane MS. 1727, p. 18; a transcription by K. M. Briggs was included in "Some Seventeenth-Century Books of Magic" and appendix IV to *The Anatomy of Puck*. In the former work, Briggs draws a comparison between this process and the fairy-summoning table-ritual in Bodleian e Mus. 173 (generally dated early 17<sup>th</sup> century; typeset in Harms & Clark, *Of Angels, Demons and Spirits*) where three fairies turn up in turn, but the first is malignant and should be ignored until she goes away. Here, though, the first two spirits should be ignored and even the third should have its offer of fellowship refused.

<sup>266</sup> This might have been intelligible Latin once. *Sedes Baldachia* is also cited in the *Heptameron* and the Vadian *Lucidarium*. Sloane MS. 1727 (apud Briggs) gives two versions: "*Betha suspensus in ethera superea empion, emprogudum, pamilion angius Marius Egripus fons floriseme deseed baldithe sapors ana velarca siras: but these are truer: beltha suspensus Mathea Superea Implex pamilion ananrius fons floris Trosdogod Baldachia. Sarius Mars.*" This suggests that even then the scribe had access to two different, and already heavily corrupt, copies of the formula.

[114v] Then towards the west, observe to doe as before the East, and North, & presently will a third apparition appear, Like as a goodly Knight on horseback with a Goss-hawke also on his fist more fair and beutifull then the two former, Crowned with a Diadem of Gold, who will say thus unto you, or much like to it, *Loe I am here, and weary for Labor all day, therefore tell me what thou wouldest I should doe for thee?* And this Knight you may faithfully trust, and desire of him what you will, he will truly fullfill your Requests, which you ought to have in readiness fairly written &c. Then will he say, Even as soone as he hath said the former words thus to you: *Will you have my fellowship?* But you shall deny It, and answer him saying no you will not, butt propose your desires and demands to him, what it is you would have him do for you, and turn your Countenance or face towards the South, and so leave him then shall he pass away from you, and so give over, and Cease Action, & goe your way the next morning goe again to the same place, and there you shall find all your Requests fulfilled, and your Expectations answered, for which god thanks & depart.



*Hic, est Quadra-Circulus Experimenti.*

This ought to be written with the blood of the Lapwing upon a faire Calve Skin parchment, neatly & Evenly fastned together, & so made on Square Entire thing, & so Kept for practice.<sup>267</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

*Of the Spirit Bleth, who is mostly called upon and appeareth in a glass of water.*<sup>268</sup>

Have a glass made of pure white mettle pretty thick, made in the form of a Urinall, and make a cover thereto of Virgin Wax or parchment with the Character made thereon as hereafter followeth, then fill the glass a little above halfe full of water, and Sett it upon the table of practice, or other Convenient place, where It may Stand very Sure and Stedy, from Shaking or jogging & let It stand on your left hand and set the Cover thereof by it on the right hand & Let the t[able] or place on which the Glass and Its Cover standeth, be Coverd with a Linnen Cloth, [115r] very white: and so when all things are decently Set in Order, Invoke as followeth:

<sup>267</sup> If this is to be made big enough for the operator to stand in, that is likely to involve killing rather a lot of small birds. The version of the ritual in Sloane 1727 (*apud* Briggs) rather has the “circle four square” (described rather than illustrated) made on the ground with a sword and the blood used only for writing the formula.

<sup>268</sup> Bleth is also mentioned, and given a simple character, in the Chicago “Book of Magical Charms” (Newberry Case MS. 5017, fol. 7r); the name is possibly a corruption of Bileth.

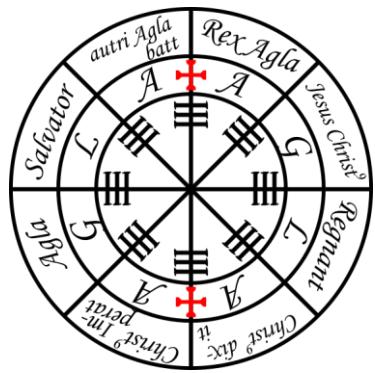
I adjure & call upon command and constrain thee O thou spirit which art called Bleth: in & through the name of the father & of the son & of the holy Ghost, Three persons in trinity, & one God in Unity, & by this incomprehensible name, of the most High and Omnipotent Creator, of Heaven & Earth, Tetragrammaton, Jehovah, I powerfully and Earnestly Urge and Constrained the O thou spirit **Bleth** and I call upon & command thee to appear Visibly & affably Unto me in this Glass of water, Set here before me, as a fit and appropriate Receptacle to Entertaine you And I doe againe adjure Call upon, bind, command and Constrain thee O thou spirit **Bleth**, by the Vertue and might of those Great & powerfull names, By which wise Solomon bound spirits, and shut them up **Elbrach, Ebanher, Goth, Ioth, Agla, Othie, Venoah, nabrat**, to appear & shew thy selfe, fairly & fully and plainly Visible unto me, In that Glass of water here before me, which I have Set to Receive you in And to Resolve & openly & manifestly to shew me, the Truth Verity & Certanty of all Such matters & things, as I shall demand & Resquest of you, without any fraud guile dissimilation, or other Crafty or Deceitfull Illusion whatsoever, wherefore, I now call upon & Constrain thee hereby, O thou spirit **Bleth** in and through these High & potent names of our Lord & Savior, Jesus Christ, Messias, Sother, Emanuel, Alpha & Omega, to move appear & shew thy selfe plainly unto me & fulfill my Demands, Desires & Requests in all things, according to your Office, wherein you may or Can without any farther tarrying or delay, butt immediately prepare you & come away, and doe for me as for the Servant of the Highest:

Repeat this Conjunction often, and when the water Stirreth a Little & a smoak seemeth to be seen In the Glass, then doth the spirit Enter, for this is the foreshowing Signe of his appearance, & when this is perspicuously discerned, then Lightly Cover the Glass with the Cover, & bind **[[it]]** all about So Securely, that nothing may goe out &c: Then Ask what you will, & he will either Resolve it *viva voce*, or it will be soon written on his Brest.

\* \* \* \* \*

[115v] The Spirit **Senoryan** may be Invocated & call'd upon, As Either of the foregoing Spirits, **Vassago, Agares** or **Bleth**, being Exemplary alike, only Changing the name In the Invocation, Some use Oyl in the Glass instead of water, for so did Cardinal Richlieu, who this Spirit **Senoryan** was very familiar frequent & Conversant withal &c.

*This character is to be made on the Cover of the Glass<sup>269</sup>*



<sup>269</sup> The text around the outer circle is very cramped and I am not completely sure I have transcribed it correctly; the superscripted '9' represents a conventional scribal abbreviation for the Latin '-us' terminal.

*Of the spirit Mamon & his Characters:*



Let these Characters be written in the right hand, with the blood of a Lapwing or of a black Cat, & when the Spirit is Invocated or called up the Hand must be held up, so that he may see them.

This spirit, together with those that follow, may be Invocated and called up As the foregoing spirits **Vassago** and **Agares** and, the same method being observed; only the Characters and names are Altered in the Call or invocation And the practicall part of the Experiment.

*Of the Spirit Seere His ⚭ Character nature & Office &c.*

This spirit **Seere** is under the King of the East, He goes & comes & brings all things to Suddaine end Expeditious effects, He can Carry & recarry, & pass over the whole world, in a moment, yea in the twinkling of an Eye: He makes true Relation of all Sorts of Thefts, & of treasure trove, & sheweth true Relations of many other things. He is by nature indifferent Good, mild courteous and affable, & willingly performeth whatsoever is Desired of him &c.<sup>270</sup>

*Of the Spirit Asmodiah his Character ⚭*

This spirit sheweth all things that are in the Earth and water, & all things that appertaine to Love & marriage, and what shall befall those that be newly married, and there friends, Kindred or Allyance And of there agreement or disagreement, & how fate will smile [116r] or frown upon them, he can also discover thieves & Theft, Treasure Trove, & many other notable Occult things.<sup>271</sup>

<sup>270</sup> Seere is the 70th spirit of the *Ars Goëtia*, described as (S5 fol. 110) “a mighty Prince and powerful under *Amaymon* King of the East, he appeareth in the forme of a Beautifull Man, riding on a strong horse with wings: his office is to Goe & come and to bring all things to pass on a sudden, & to carry any thing where Thou wilt have it, or have if from for he can pass over the whole world in the Twinckling of an Eye, he maketh a true relation of all sorts of Theft and of Treasures hidd and of all other things, he is Indefferent good natured; willing to do any thing the Exorcist desireth; he governeth 26 Legions of spirits.” His character is given thus:



<sup>271</sup> Asmodiah is probably a variant of Asmodai (#32 in the *Goëtia*: his offices are given somewhat differently there) although the theophoric terminal *-iah* is not generally used for the names of demons. The character looks to be a simpler form of the *Ars Goëtia* version, which in S5 (fol. 105v) appears thus (the thick black line at the right is possibly the result of blotting in the MS. or contrast issues with the scans I was using):



### *Of the Spirit Dantalion His Character*

He sheweth all arts and Sciences, & maketh one Expert therein, he can Declare & reveal the Secret Councills of any one, he Changeth the minds & thoughts of men & women, he can stir up Love, and shew by Vision the similitude of any one, be they att never to great a distance, in any part of the world &c.<sup>272</sup>

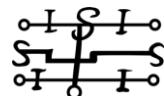
### *Of the Spirit Andromalius His Character*

He can bring back theives with the Goods they have stolen, He discovereth all Manner of Wickedness, & all manner of Secret, Clandestine, underhand dealings, Plots, Contrivances and all deceiptfull designes, Combinations, Consultations or other Tretchery whatsoever, tending to the Ensnaring, Detriment, Loss or Distraction of one; & punisheth all maner of Lewd, thievish, deceiptfull, ungodly persons &c: He faithfully declareth the Verity of Treasure Trove.<sup>273</sup>

<sup>272</sup> *Dantalion* is the 71<sup>st</sup> spirit of the *Ars Goëtia*, described as (S5 fol. 110v): “a great & mighty duke appearing in the forme of a man with many faces, all like men & women & a Booke in his right hand; his office is to Teach all arts and scienses to any one, and to declare the secret Counselles of any one, for he knoweth the Thoughts of all men and women, and can change them at his will, he can cause Love and shew (by vision) the true similitude of any one let them be in what place or part of the world they will, he governeth 36 Legions of Spirits.” His seal:



<sup>273</sup> *Andromalius* is probably a corruption of *Andromalchus* or *Andromalcos* who is cited, for example in an “Abraham’s Eye” process to punish a thief in BL Additional MS. 36,674 (fol. 79v), and is mentioned as “Andrew Malchus” in an account of treasure-hunters in Norfolk during the reign of Henry VIII. In the *Ars Goëtia* he is the 72<sup>nd</sup> and last spirit: “he is a great and Mighty Earle appearing in the form of a Man, holdling a serpent in his hande, his office is to bring a Theefe & goods that are stolen, Back; and to discover all wickedness and understand [qy. “underhand”] dealings, & to punish Theives & other wicked people, & to discover Treasures that are hidd &c., he ruleth 36 Legions of spirits” (S5 fol. 110 v). His seal is shown as:



A somewhat different character is in the Chicago “Book of Magical Charms” (Newberry Case MS. 5017), an early 17<sup>th</sup>-century magical miscellany (predates the present compilation: the main scribe died in 1641), on fol 10r, the name unclearly written (could be *Andromalcus*, *Andromalius* or *Andromaleus*) and with no description.

*Seere*, *Dantalion* and *Andromalius*, along with *Vassago*, who features in a previous “experiment” in this collection, are the four spirits in the catalogue of the *Ars Goëtia* who do not appear in the list’s main source, the English translation of the *Pseudomonarchia Daemonum* that was included in Reginald Scot’s *Discoverie of Witchcraft*. The *Pseudomonarchia*, an edited version of a *Liber officiorum spirituum* MS., first published as an appendix to the 1577 fifth edition of Wier’s *De præstigiis dæmonum et incantationibus ac beneficiis*, listed 69 principal spirits, but one of the entries included a legend of Solomon sealing up 72 demon kings and their legions in a glass vessel (*in vase vitreo*, mistranslated “brasen vessel” in Scot). In Scot’s publication, the fourth spirit in the Wier list, *Pruflas* or *Bufas*, was omitted for some reason, leaving only 68. The redactor of the *Ars Goëtia*, besides shuffling the order of the spirits after the first two, decided to make up the number to 72 to fit the legend, and so interpolated four spirits, either from the present collection or a MS. of similar content; *Vassgo* immediately after *Agares*, probably due to their close association in the collection of spirit “Experiments,” and the other three at the end.

*Of the Spirit Sondenna, aliter Sendenna*

This Spirit was the Servant and familier To Mr E. K. He appeareth In many forms, & then at Length in a triangle of fire: butt being Constrained to the Circule, he att last taketh to the similitude (as it were) of a great Gyant, and will declare before, for a month to come, what spirits doe orderly Range, which by name being called, will doe their offices, &c: [...] this, is worth, the Consideration & practice. Anno: 1580.<sup>275</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

These two spirits **Maserien** and **Hermcloe** were the Servants And familiars of the L.C.E. of S. 1607.<sup>276</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

<sup>274</sup> Possibly a word lost in the gutter here.

<sup>275</sup> “E.K.” is Edward Kelly. In the Dee-Kelly Spirit Action of 1584.06.27 (Cotton Appendix XLVI part i, fol. 201v, *T&FR* p. 184-5), Ave remarked of a “great multitude” of figures seen in Kelly’s vision of the Watch-towers: “They be Ministers and servants. There shalt thou (E. K.) see thy old *Soudenna*, and many other wicked ones, that thou hast dealt withal.” A note above the name reads “atr [aliter] *Seudenna*, as E. K. sayd.” A much more extensive note in the margin reads:

“[Of this] wicked *Soudenna*, E.K. by and by, after this Action, sayd, seeing his name is come to be known (and not by me: for I had received the Sacrament with Mr. Miniver, of whom I had him, never to bewray or disclose his name) I will tell you somewhat of him. He appeareth in many forms tyll at Length he appeare in a Triangle of fyre, and being constrainyd to the circle, he taketh form, as it were, of a great Gyant, and will declare before for a month to come which spirits do orderly range: which by name being called, will do their offices, with a few other circumstances used, &c. This, indeed was one, of whom I made most account, &c.”

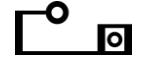
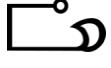
The name was misprinted *Sondenna*, *aliter Sendenna* in *T&FR* (in the MS. it is lettered out fairly carefully, and *Soudenna* is more believable as a mishearing of *Seudenna*, the original appearance of the name being written by Dee as he heard it spoken during the Action).

<sup>276</sup> Maserien and Hermcloe are mentioned in the final fragment of Dee’s Spirit Diaries from 1607 (Action of 24<sup>th</sup> March, Cotton Appendix XLVI part ii, fol. 229r, *T&FR* p. \*34), apparently as devils sent against Dee by the Lord [Robert] Cecil, Earl of Salisbury (a senior official at the court of King James), to whom Dee (reduced to poverty) was attempting to hawk his services at the time.

“[...] it was the will of God [...] to suffer the heart of thy supreme head and governour, under God to be hardned against thee, that you art no better account made of unto him, but to be such an one that doth deal with Devils and by Sorcery, as you commonly term them Witchcraft: and who doth, and who hath informed him, to be thus evil and hardly informed against thee, but only the Devil, and by the hatred of thy secret enemy whom thou knowest (*Salisbury* I mean) and all malice and enemies that he can by his Devils, *Maserien*, *Hermcloe*, the four wicked ones, the which are accounted the four Rulers of the Air, whose names be *Ories*, *Egym*, *Paynim*, and *Mayrary*: They be the Devils that he doth deal withal, that he through their enticing and his, he thinketh to be pleasant and good wisdom that he receiveth at their hands; *That he and his Devil do seek thy overthrow in all good things, and doth and shall*, so far forth as God will suffer them, seek all the malice and hindrance in all good causes to be done to thy good.”

(This is transcribed from *T&FR*, I found the MS. even harder to read than the 1580s parts). It has been suggested [BY WHOM?] that when, three years prior to this, Dee petitioned King James for a chance to clear himself of the slander that he was a practitioner of demonic magic (even if this meant facing trial under the draconian witchcraft laws of the time), it was on Lord Cecil’s advice that James ignored him.

[116v] *The names of Severall Spirits, both with, and without their Characters.*<sup>277</sup>

				
<i>Cutchpollo</i>	<i>Herp</i>	<i>Stigamma</i>	<i>Ysbiloth</i>	<i>Mulpeldar</i>
				
<i>Sympolsis</i>	<i>Noddarding</i>	<i>Solyhesyl</i>	<i>Mendir</i>	<i>Culdrunal</i>
				
<i>Funaler</i>	<i>Sirsir</i>	<i>Sichere</i>	<i>Sursinal</i>	<i>Clidraepe</i>
				
<i>Spalata</i>	<i>Pludir</i>	<i>Horsor</i>	<i>Rodmache</i>	<i>Goral</i>
				
<i>Miche</i>	<i>Ferinalopes</i>	<i>Hissirperche</i>	<i>Sinant</i>	<i>Hur</i>

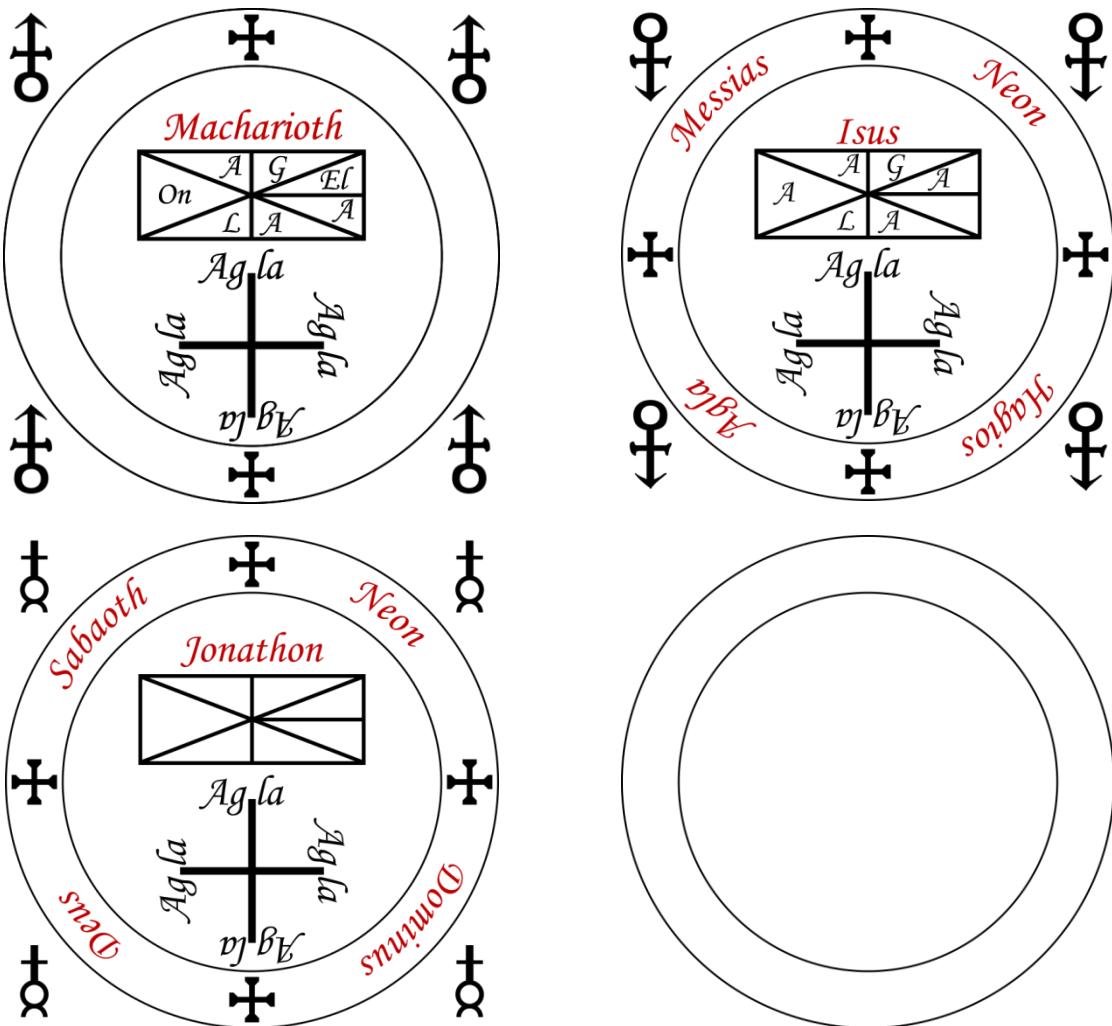
*Of the Seven Regall Spirits with their Familiars, named as followeth:*

Macharioth Rex <sup>278</sup>	Whose Familiars are	Arumbel,	Squatus
Isus Rex		Thoronor	
Jonathon Rex		Samna	Gezome
Acharon Rex		Gozra	
Magoth Rex		Gonsellados	Ypfa, Gorse
Achachardus Rex		Alcrit, Gatos	Ghyrites
Ysquy Rex		Garen	
		Syel, Tysgel	Mylon
		Lusor, Rymor	Tynior
		Earny, Asyn	Gryel

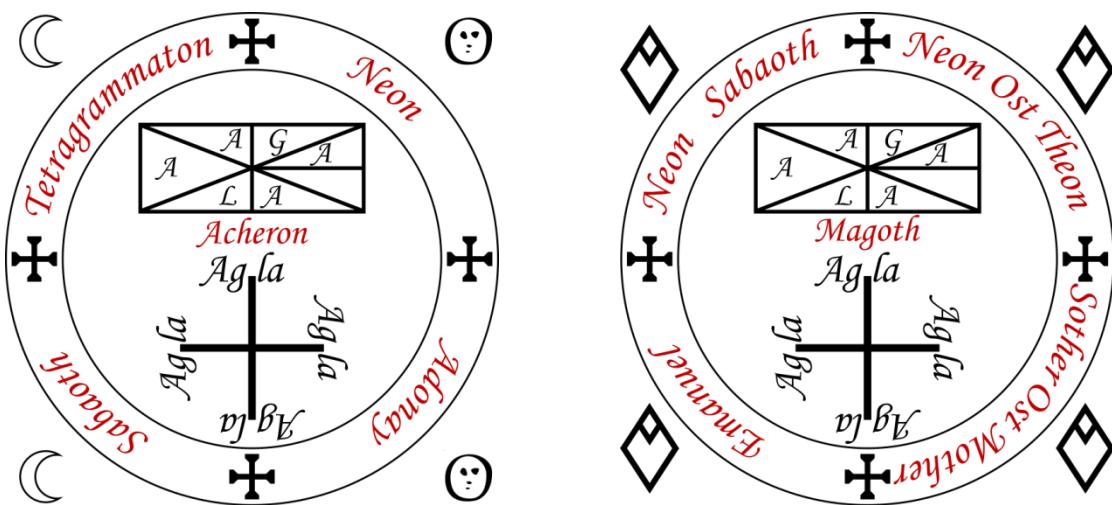
<sup>277</sup> In the MS., the first set of 25 characters and names is written in a single column down the left edge of the page. I am not completely sure I have transcribed all the names correctly.

<sup>278</sup> "Rex" is represented by a conventional scribal abbreviation.

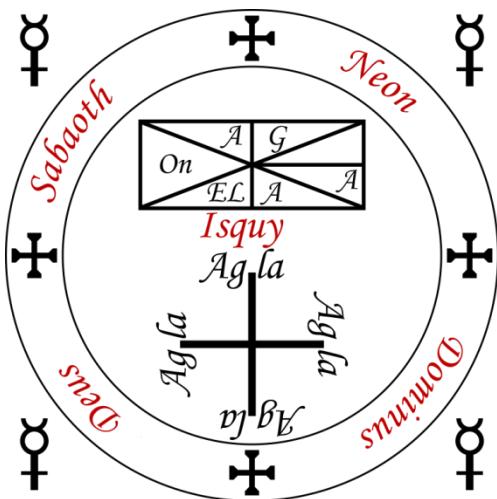
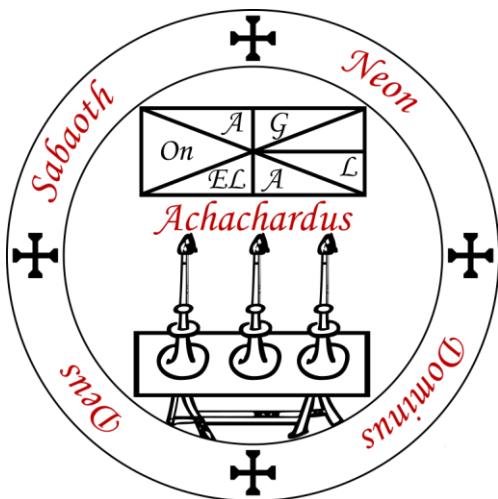
These following serveth the Invocant to stand in when he calleth  
any of the aforesaid Kings, &c.<sup>279</sup>



[117r]



<sup>279</sup> These are not apparently rubricated in the MS. In the circle for *Isus Rex*, "Hagios" in the border is a conjectural restoration; the start of the word is lost in the gutter. Similar, but not identical, figures appear in V.b. 26 pp. 148-151 where they are possibly meant to be talisman designs.



*[Of the Chief Infernal Spirits, and the four Kings.]<sup>280</sup>*

There are many Spirits, that are said to be by nature Evill, & not onely Envious & Enymies to man & his felicity, but aduers to all goodness whatsoever: and yet have been by magicians of former times (Living in Remote & far Countryes from us in England, and these parts) brought to a Comunication, and a Kind of familiarity, with them, whereby there offices & natures have been discovered, but it hath not been Common among men, Especially the meanest Capacityes, & therefore not att all practiced, neither is It fit to be practiced by any Sober philosopher unless to Satisfie his Curiosity, because of their Turbulence, but yet they are many times called upon, to bind & constrain other Spirits, to doe there offices, which is not at all offendive hurtfull or obnoxious, therefore they may be Invocated in Such Cases &c: wee shall mention somewhat thereof, because of diserning the differences thereof, & therein let the magick Philosopher use his discretion &c.: There are three spirits Called devils, or infernall spirits, whose names are mentioned in holy writ, namely **Lucifer**, **Beelzebub**, & **Sathan**, therefore as they stand recorded in the Sacred Scriptures we shall hint at something of them, & no more. [117v]

**Lucifer** is a great spirit, and may not be Invocated nor Called from his Orders, yet by him as by **Tantavalerion**,<sup>281</sup> other spirits may be adjured and bound, for all spirits that are by nature Evill, or at least more maligne then usually many Aijerall & Terrestrial powers, such as are treated of before, doe with a Kind of majesty, Worship & obey him: for this Reason he may not be called upon, Except to Constrain other Subservient Spirits to fulfil the Command & Requests of the Invocant in any Reasonable thing.

The next is **Beelzebub** who is a great prince (and it is said that before the fall, he was of the order of Cherubins) and 1000000 spirits doe minister unto him; he appeareth very Beautifull, & giveth to them that call him Gold & Silver and maketh the Expert in Science, he appeareth well for halfe an hour: & giveth to Each Demand a free Answer, He giveth a servant or Familiar, which will be faithfull & obedient, during a [[man's]] Life, whoso Calleth him must have Fumes of Amber, Lignum Aloes mastic &c: & invocate towards the East, *in verbis conceptis*, wherein he must be importunately and Earn[[estly]] Urged, to doe his office, who then at Length will obey.

The third spirit is called **Sathan**, who was before his fall of the order of Cherubims, & it is said that because he fell not of his owne will, therefore he abideth obscurely in the Aijer and so is called the prince of the Aijer, under whome are four Princes or Kings, bearing rule in the Aijer, & have power given & permitted them, to coruscate and disturb

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<sup>280</sup> In the MS. this follows without a section break or a distinctive heading from the circles for the seven "Regall spirits," which latter slightly overlap with the first line of text.

<sup>281</sup> *Tantavalerion* is an "Emperor" of infernal spirits, frequently mentioned in the Folger "Book of Magic." A similar name, *Cantivalerion*, with the same characterisation, is mentioned in Bodleian MS. e Mus 173.

the Aijer, whereby many Mischeifs befall the Earth, doing great hurt, and it was this spirit that tempted our four fathers in the Wilderness to disobedience.

The four Kings of the Aijer Ruling under **Sathan**, together with their Councillors & messagers are named as followeth, under whom again are numberless of Subservients:

[*The four Kings, their Presidential Counsellors and Messengers.*<sup>282</sup>]

King of the	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{East} \\ \text{West} \\ \text{North} \\ \text{South} \end{array} \right\}$	is	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Orience} \\ \text{Paymon} \\ \text{Egyn}^{283} \\ \text{Amaymon}^{284} \end{array} \right\}$	whose	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Presidentiall} \\ \text{Councillors are} \\ \text{Messengers are} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{[names follow:} \\ \text{see below]} \\ \text{[names follow:} \\ \text{see below]} \end{array} \right\}$
Presidentiall Councillors are			$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Neopheyn, Barbas, Sebarbas, Aligon.} \\ \text{Gordonizer, Zame.} \\ \text{Vassago, Othey, Um, Anaboth.} \\ \text{Aleche, Berith, Mala.} \end{array} \right\}$			
Messengers are			$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Baal, Temel, Belfarto (or Belferith).} \\ \text{Belferth, Belial, Bawson, Rombulance} \\ \text{(or Ramblane), Alphasis.} \\ \text{Boulon, Ocarbidaton, Madicon}^{285} \end{array} \right\}$			

**Oriens** King of the East, appeareth with an hundred & two hundred Legions, having a fair Effeminate Countenance, & a goodly Crown upon his head, riding upon an Elephant, having trumpets, shalms & much Minstrelry of divers Instruments going before him, & when he is called he Cometh with other great [118r] Kings; butt if he be called alone, then he appeareth in the very likeness of a Royall Horse; He telleth the truth of all things, present, and & to Come, giveth mony, teacheth Sciences, Consecrateth Bookes, and willingly giveth answers to all demands & Questions, He Knoweth all Experiments, and hath power to teach them; There is a King under **Oriens**, whose name is **Baal**,<sup>286</sup> whose office is to teach all manner of Sciences, and maketh a man to go Invisible, & hath

<sup>282</sup> This is written across the page, somewhat cramped; I have split the table in order to have it at a reasonable type size while retaining the general layout. These names, and the descriptions of the Kings, derive from the same *De officiis* MS. tradition represented in the Folger "Book of Magic" (p. 73 *sqq.*) although the conjurations and rubric have been rewritten (amongst other things, to remove any hint of Catholicism) and the account of the infernal chiefs, compared to the Folger text, have been redacted, *e.g.* omitting to mention that Beelzebub is wont to kill a magician who summons him without using the proper invocation and suffumigation, or that Satan will pester the invocant to pray for him to be restored to his former throne and place.

<sup>283</sup> As written at this point in the MS., the name trails off after the 'y,' but it is given consistently as *Egyn* elsewhere in this section.

<sup>284</sup> Written "Amamon" in MS. at this point, but given consistently as *Amaymon* elsewhere in this section.

<sup>285</sup> These are the Messengers of *Amaymon*; none are named for *Egyn*.

<sup>286</sup> In this instance, probably the same as *Bael* in the *Ars Goëtia* (*Baall* in V.b. 26 p. 81), who appears as a subject of the King of the East.

under him 250 Legions, whoso acteth by this Royall spirit **Oriens**, must direct his Countenance & actions toward the East, and at the first Constraine the spirit **Temel**, who is messenger of the East as followeth — first invocating for the aid and Assistance of **Oriens** Rex, &c.: of which Invocation an Example hereafter followeth in the practice of Hochma.

O thou spirit who art called **Temel**, messenger of the East, I adjure, call upon, bind, command and Constrain thee, by the power, dignity & authority of your Great and Royall Prince **Oriens**, the Supream Head of your Hierarchy, I adjure, Command, constraine & in the name, & by the supremacy of your Orders, I powerfully & Earnestly Urge thee, o thou spirit **Temel** messenger of the East, to appear & shew thy selfe Visible, affable, and in all mildness & serenity here before us, & in no wise turbulent, hurtfull or terrible unto us, or any other Creature whatsoever, upon the Earth, butt come ye peacably, Quietly & in all plainness & humility, to give me truth & faithfull Answers and Resolves, readily and willingly, of my demands & desires, courteously fulfilling my Request in all things, according to you Orders & office, without delay, fraud, illusion or other deceitfull Crafts or impeditions whatsoever, that may in any wise hinder, oppose or obstruct my Expectations in the least, move therefore &c.

This Conjuration being Repeated nine times, and if he appeareth not, then proceed to the Conjuration following, & Rehearse It severall times; and herein Act with Care & order, by returning again, to that above, & then again to this below, according to discretion:

[118v] O you spirit, **Belfarto** or **Belferith**, who art the messenger of the King of the East, I Exorcize, adjure, bind, Command and Constrain thee, in and through the name of our almighty, and Heavenly God, Creator of heaven & Earth, & of his onely begotten Son Jesus Christ, born of the Vigin mary, the Redeemer of the World, & our onely Mediator & advocate, with the Father, of all power mercy & goodness, in whose name, all the Quire of Cœlestiall Angells Rejoyce, before whom they Incessantly Sing, **O mappa laman Hallelujah**, and at whose name all knees, upon Earth doe bow, and all the Ayeriall Terrestiall and Infernall Host of spirits doe fear & tremble, wherefore I doe again adjure, bind, command & Constrain you, O you spirit **Belfarto**, or **Belferith**, and I also potently and powerfully urge & Enforce you, in the name, and by the dignity and Authority of your prince **Oriens**, and the head of your Hierarchy & orders, that now presently, and without tarrying or delay, that you Enforce the same spirit, which is Called **Temel**, to appear Visibly, affably and peaceably here before me, and no ways Turbulent, hurtfull or terrible to me, or any other Creature, and that he may faithfully, humbly, obediently, readily and willingly doe my Commandement and fullfill my desires in all things, according to his office, wherein he may or can without any let, hinderance,

tarrying, delay, illusion, fraud, or any other Cra[[fty]] deceits or devices whatsoever, that may oppose, obstruct or deceive me, in my present & future Expectations; all which I Constraine and Command thee O thou Spirit **Belfarto**, or **Belferit**, in & through the mighty & binding name **Tetragrammaton, Jehovah, &c.**<sup>287</sup>

**Amaymon** is a King of the South. He is great & mighty, and appeareth in the Similitude of an old man, with a great Beard, His hair like to hors hair, & hath a bright Crown on his head, and Rideth on a firse Lion, usually roring at the first appearance, and shaking a Rod in his hand, his ministering spirits going before him, with all manner of musical Instruments, and with him Cometh other three Kings, who are **Emlon**, **Ocarbidaton**, and **Maditon**, being messengers to the King of the South, he cometh with a Great Company [119r] and very obscurely &c: He giveth a true Answer to all demands, & maketh a man wonderfull Cunning and Expert, in all Learning, Philosophy, & Ars Notoria, he giveth the best acquaintance with nobility, & Confirmeth the doings thereof, as Dignity, promotion, &c: he may be detained one hour &c: and butt no Longer &c.: And when you goe to act by this spirit Amaymon, direct your Selfe & Countenance to the South, first Invocating & Constraining the spirit **Emlon**, after the same manner as is before Explained, in the Constraint of the spirituall messengers of the East, under **Oriens**, (*viz*) **Temel** and **Belfirto**, using the same Invocations, only altering the spirits names, and then Adjuring the other Spirits, **Ocarbidaton** and **Maditon**, as before.

**Paymon** is King of the west, he appeareth att first somewhat terrible, & speaketh with a Hoarse Voyce, butt being Constrained by a Divine Power, he then taketh the form of a Soaldier, and when he Cometh to the presence of the Invocant, is oft times apt to Cavill & make variance, He Rideth upon a dromedary, or a Camell, which is Crowned with a bright Crown, & hath the Countenance of a woman, & before goeth a Band of ministering Spirits, with all Kind of musickall Instruments, And when he appeareth, Let the Invocant Cast a paper to him, wherein is Inscribed, that he shall speake plainly & distinctly, so that the master may understand what he saith, And with him Cometh five other principall or Regall spirits, who are **Belforth** the messenger to the King of the West and **Beliall** a King, And **Bawson** a King, and **Rombalence** or, **Ramblane** and **Alphasis**, they may appear from the 3<sup>rd</sup> hour to the 12<sup>th</sup> &c.: It is also here to be observed, that the spirit **Alphasis**, is first to be Called upon, and Constrained by Invocation, as is to be understood before in the first, **Temel**, and then afterwards the Regall spirits **Belial**, **Bawson**, **Rombalence**, or **Ramblane**, according to the Example of spirit **Belfarto**, before recited.

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<sup>287</sup> I have inserted a paragraph break here: the MS. runs into the description of Amaymon without one.

**Egyn** is King of the north, he appeareth in the Likeness of a man, his face very fair and Clear, his nostrils very sharp like a Sword.<sup>288</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

[119v] The practice that M[aster]<sup>289</sup> Hochmah, &c.—made use of, by these above named four Kings, **Orience, Paymon, Egyn** and **Amaymon**, is as followeth.

First, the four Kings, and their Partickular Precedentiall Councillors, were distinctly Called upon, from there Severall & Respective Orders or mansions, to send such a spirit as was nominated, &c., to Effect & fullfill all such proposals, as should be demanded, all which is thus:

O thou great & potent spirit **Oriens**, King of the East, & bearing Rule & Command In the East Region of the Ajjer, I adjure, call upon & Constrain, and most powerfully and Earnestly Urge you, by & in, and through the Vertue power & might of these Efficacious & binding names, Tetragrammaton, Iehovah, Adonay, Agla, El, Sabaoth, Elohim, Even the Almighty, Immense Incomprehensible & Everliving God, the omnipotent Creator of heaven & Earth, & in & through the names of our Lord & Saviour Jesus Christ, messias, Sother, Emmanuel, the onely Begotten Son of god the father, born of the Virgin mary, the High King & Lord of all the world, whose name all the Cœlestiall Angels honour & obey, and before whom all the holy Company and Quier of heaven, Incesantly Sing, **O mappa laman, Hallelujah** and at whose Divine & inestimable name, all Knees on Earth do homage and bow, and all the Aijeriall terrestiall and Infernall spirits doe fear & tremble, And now by all aforesaid I doe now again powerfully adjure, call upon,

<sup>288</sup> This entry is drastically truncated for no clear reason: there is a rule under this short paragraph in the MS. indicating there is nothing lost in this copy; there may have been a page missing in the scribe's source text, of course. The entry for *Egyn* in V.b. 26 (p. 74) runs:

**Egyn R[ex]** is of the North, & appeareth in the liknes of a Man, & his face is very cleere, his nostrills are verie sharpe like a sworde, & out of his mouth commeth flames of fire, & he rideth upon a dragon & he is crowned with a crowne of pretious stones, & in his cheeks he beareth 2 tuskes, & he beareth one his right side 2 hissing serpents shininge & he cometh with a great noise & clamore before him goe sundry kindes of musicall Instruments & sweet orgaines, & he teacheth perfectly all physsicke & singinge, & the arte **Notaria** & the arte of **Nigromancye** & the arte **Memoratvia**, & he speaketh of & in divers partes of the world, & of thinges to come paste & present, & of certayne secrete & hidd things, & of the beinge & compartinge of this world, & what the Earth is, & whether the water maye sustaine the earth, or the earth the water, & he telleth what a bottomless pitt is, commonly called Abissus, & where it is, & what the winde is, & from whence it cometh, & he giveth very good acquaintance & dignities, prelateshipes & and confirmeth the same, & maketh consecration of booke, and other thinges, and giveth true aunswers of all questions & demaunds, & thou must looke to the North when thou callest him, & soe soone as he appeareth, shew him **Sigillum Salomonis**, & his Ringe, & forthwith he will fall downe, to the earth, & will worship the Master & the master shall take & thanke him therefore, & he hath **12000 Legions**, & causeth a man to winne at all manner of games, & **Rodabell, vel Radabelbes**, be the messengers of the Kinge of the North.

In the conjuration immediately following, a "Lambricon vel Lambracaron" is called on to compel *Robadell*.

<sup>289</sup> Represented by a scribal abbreviation. "Master Hochmah" (from Heb., חכמה, 'wisdom') was probably meant as the name or alias of a magician who devised or taught the process following.

constrain & more Earnestly urge you O you great & mighty spirit **Oriens**, King of the East Quandra[[nt]] of the Aiier, in and though the most Effectuall glorious Sacred & puissant name of him who saith & it is done, that now Imediately without farther tarrying or delay you doe send or Cause to be sent forth without one the spirit **Marage**, or any other from your orders, and to appear visibly, plainly, peaceably, affably in all Serenity and humility here apparently to my Sight and view, and positively effectually, faithfully and fully to serve me and to Resolve me in Such Queries, & Interrogatories, as I shall ask [120r] Requier & demand of him, & to fullfill my Requests, and doe my Commandement in all things, according to his office, wherein he may or can as I shall desire of him, and that without any delayance, Guile, deceit or other illusions whatsoever, that may In any wise hinder, oppose, obstruct or destroy our Expectations. And I doe againe Earnestly Importune, adjure, Urge and Constrain you powerfull & Regall spirit **Oriens**, to send forthwith immediately, and now at this present unto me, and to appear plainly Visible before me, the spirit **Marage**, or some other from your orders or mansions, in all mildness, peace & friendliness, with[[out]] any hurt, disturbance, or any other Evill whatsoever, Either to me, or this place, wherein I am, or any other place, Person or Creature whatsoever, but that Quietly Curteously & obediently to serve me & fullfill my desires, & do my Commandement in all things where in he may &c:—All which I Earnestly Urge & Constrained thee, O thou Royall and potent spirit **Oriens**: to doe for me in N. P. F. SS.<sup>290</sup>

Lett this Constraint be altered (?) three times, then proceed to the following Exorcism, and say that seven or nine times, then Goe again to that above, which order observe one, two or, three hours, or as Ocation, shall Require &c:—

O thou spirit **Marage**, I adjure, call upon, bind Constrain, and Command thee by the Authority & Dignity of thy prince & head of thy Hierarchy, unto whom thou owest honour & obedience, & by the truest and most Especiall names of your master, Commanding the Order and mansion wherein you Inhabite & Reside, I doe adjure, Command, constraine & Earnestly urge thee, o thou spirit **Marage**, to appear, and shew thyself visibly and affably in all serenity & meekness here before me, in a fair & decent forme, and in no wise turbulent, hurtfull or terrible unto me, or the place wherein I am, or to any other place or Creature whatsoever, or wheresoever, But Come ye peaceably, & in all humility, & shew thy selfe plainly & visibly here before me, to my full vision & Eye sight, speaking plainly, & to be understood, giving one faithfull & true answers to all my demands, and readily doing my Commandement, and fulfilling my Requests, in all such matters & things whatsoever, According to your office, wherein you may or Can, without any Illusion, or other fraudulent Delayances [120v] whatsoever that may tend to

<sup>290</sup> Probably an abbreviation for *in Nomine Patri, Filii & Spiritus Sancti*.

the Circumvention of my present desires or at all in the Least distructive to my hopes and Expectations. Move therefore, prepare ye & Come away, Shew thy Selfe, and make no longe tarrying or delay, and do for me as for the servant of the Highest.

\* \* \* \* \*

and if	King of the	be invoked, bid him send	Mirage, or Baal
	Paymon	West	Mirage <sup>291</sup>
	Egin	North	Marage
	Amaymon	South	

\* \* \* \* \*

Now by Changing the names of the spirits, and the Angle from whence they are Called upon, Respect being had to the other three, as is Exemplified in the Regall spirit **Oriens**, whose Invocation in this last Experiment of master Hochma, may serve also for those that are just next foregoing, and to be placed before the Invocation of the spirituall messenger **Temel**, and that or Paymon, to goe before the Constraint of **Alphasis**, and the Invocation of Amaymon, to preceed the Call of **Emelon**,<sup>292</sup> so that altering each name in Every severall and Respective Invocation, and observing the Ayerall Angle, or Quarter, East, West, North & South, & so Invocating according to art, you can rarly Err or doe amiss &c.<sup>293</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

There are other names, by which these four Regall spirits are Known, & have been Invocated, & been brought to familiarity & Verball Community by the L.C.E. of S.<sup>294</sup> as

Oriens—	Paymon—	Egyn—	Amaymon	King of the	East	West	North	South	aliter	Ories	Paynim	Egym	Mayrary	by the Hebrews	they are Called	Samael	
																	Azazel
																	Azael
																	Mahazel

\* \* \* \* \*

*Finis*

<sup>291</sup> Or possibly *Merge*; the second letter is ambiguous. S5 cites *Mirage* under *Egin*.

<sup>292</sup> As previously observed, the messenger of Egyn is not named in the present text.

<sup>293</sup> Another set of conjurations for the four Kings and some of their underlings, using the same set of names (or slight variants thereof) as the present text, appear in S1 fol. 158-165 & 178-187 (also in Bodleian Rawlinson MS. D 1363) as “Operations of the East Angle of the Ayre by Invocation made to the Regal Spirit *Orients*” (and similarly for the other three); for each quarter there is an invocation of the King to send various of his underlings (typically one or two of those listed as “messengers”) a conjuration of the aforementioned Messengers to compel the appearance of the *other* Messengers, and finally a conjuration directed at the other Messenger alongside Marage / Mirage. While the conjurations are given at length for all four quarters, they generally have trivial variations only apart from the names cited and the compass point.

<sup>294</sup> Lord Cecil, Earl of Salisbury: See note to fol. 116r. The variant spellings of the names of the four Kings appear in the passage from the Spirit Action there quoted. The names “by the Hebrews” appear in Agrippa (OOP book III chap. 24), in turn deriving from Reuchlin’s *De Arte Cabalistica*.

[121r] *Trithemius Redivivus*

[This is an incomplete and abridged English translation / paraphrase of the first book of the *Steganographia, hoc est Ars per Occultam Scripturam Animi Sui Voluntatem Absentibus aperiendi certa* of Johannes Trithemius, Abbot of Spanheim, written ca. 1499 but not printed until 1606, although it circulated in MS. over the sixteenth century. Lib. I runs to 32 chapters, 93 quarto pages in the 1606 printing. As previously remarked, the entire scheme of spirits and other elements of the *Ars Theurgia-Goëtia* derive from Book I of the *Steganographia* (the scheme of spirits of the first part of the *Pauline Art* of the *Lemegeton* derives from Book II): further, while this particular copy was not the source for the redactor of the *Lemegeton*, there is some evidence (relating to how the lists of “dukes” under each chief spirit are arranged) that the *Theurgia-Goëtia* used a more complete copy of this translation rather than the printed Latin *Steganographia*.

The *Steganographia*, on a surface reading, is a work on magic, describing how to summon various spirits, some said to be good, others evil, in order to transmit messages to distant friends without risk of discovery or interception. When it was first printed, however, it was bound up with a *Clavis Steganographiæ* which explained the actual significance of the first two of the three “books” into which the work is divided: the “conjurations,” consisting generally of the name of a chief spirit followed by a string of seemingly senseless and barbarous words, are coded messages describing encryption systems for hiding your “secret message” in a seemingly innocuous letter (by, for example, applying a simple substitution cipher like a 3-place Cæsar shift to the text you want to hide, and then having the first letter of every other word in the letter spell out the message thus encoded); the simple characters associated with each chief spirit, which could pass as scribal flourishes, appended to the letter, indicate to the recipient (assumed to be conversant with the entire system) just which of the various systems was being used.

The third and shortest book of the *Steganographia*, only extant as an unfinished fragment (pp. 160–180 of the 1606 printed edition), was not explained in the *Clavis* and contained no obvious example messages, only extensive tables of numbers, so was for centuries widely believed to actually be a work on (astrologically based) magic.<sup>295</sup> In 1676 a German writer, Wolfgang Ernst Heidel, published (as part of a commented reprint of the full *Steganographia*) a purported solution explaining it as a cryptographic system,<sup>296</sup> but since this was itself printed in a cipher that none of his contemporaries could crack, he was generally assumed to be bluffing. It was not until the late 1990s that the third book was conclusively and publicly shown to itself contain a cipher system, by two independent studies in German<sup>297</sup> and English;<sup>298</sup> the former also solved Heidel’s cipher and showed that he was not bluffing and had actually solved it back in the 1670s.

The *Steganographia*, minus the *Clavis*, embodies its own subject-matter; much of the content is part of the cover-text with no significance to the actual cryptographic system, but serves to make it look more like a work on magic, a genre with which Trithemius had a more than passing familiarity.

The MS. makes *heavy* use of scribal abbreviations, much more so than the rest of S4, and several were unfamiliar to me. I have restored / expanded from context where possible.]

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<sup>295</sup> See for example Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic*, pp. 87–8.

<sup>296</sup> Johannes Trithemii [...] *Steganographia* [...] *vindicate, reserata et illustrata*.

<sup>297</sup> Thomas Ernst, “Schwarzweiße Magie: Der Schlüssel zum dritten Buch der *Steganographia* des Trithemius” (1996). See also the same author’s “The Numerical-Astrological ciphers in the third book of Trithemius’s *Steganographia*” (1998) which includes a summary of the earlier work and was published alongside Reeds’ study.

<sup>298</sup> Jim Reeds, “Solved: the Ciphers in Book III of Trithemius *Steganographia*” (1998).

*The First part, And the First Chapter.*

*The Key and operation whereof is held from the Principal Spirit Pamersiel, Anoyr, Madriel, by the ministry Ebra-Sothean, Abrulges, Itrasbiel, And Nadres, Ormenu, Itules, Rablion, Hamorphiel. Let a Commission be sent to those with the Exorcisme of them all.<sup>299</sup>*

The first and Principall Spirit is **Pamersiel**, who ruleth in the East, & whose seal is thus [T].<sup>300</sup> He hath 1000 Spirits under him who are Presidents of the day, who possesse a Large dominion, & hath power & authority to chase away the Spirits of darknessse of or the night. Under these are 10000 subjected spirits, who are presidents of the night, who are always Conversant in darkenesse & never come unto the sight, except by Command of there Princes unto whom they are continually subject and submissive. Under these again are many ministers & subservient having ample Authority, who issue forth in uncertain numbers att the Command of their princes (that is to say) as many of them for number as shall be called from the second or third Order, for producing the greatest effects; so many servants & keepers shall come with them to their great prince **Pamersiel**; There are againe under these, others, who serve as Messengers & porters, whose number is unknown, who being oftentimes mixt with the other spirits come also with them &c.

The operation by this spirit **Pamersiel** and his presidents and subjects is somewhat difficult and a little dangerous for they are proud & rebellious & willingly obey no one, unless they be very expert in this Art, and if they be too much urgent they frequently offend the Operator with various elusions. There are also beside these many other ayeriall spirits, who are unfaythfull and refractory, unless they be very powerfully & strongly forced & constrained &c.

The Secrets which are committed to these they oftentimes unfaithfully declare to others for when they have been sent with letters they flew away to him whom they were sent to, and violently & disorderly rushing in filling the Ayre with boystrouse noyse by reason of their furious hastiness.

It is not necessary therefore to compel them or to require the ministry of the with much pains, labour, trouble, or Constraints because of their turbulency and infidelity, yet notwithstanding there are many of them that have been found very benevolent & on the Contrary do very readily & obediently offer themselves & doth faithfully fulfil the desires of the Operator.

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<sup>299</sup> The apparent magical words in the chapter title (saving *Hamorphiel*) are a cipher-text describing how to decode messages in the “Pamersiel” cipher: a variant appears in the body of the chapter as the “conjunction” beginning *Lamarton Anoyr*.

<sup>300</sup> The spirit characters were apparently written in red ink in S4, which unfortunately also means they were barely-readable in the page images I was working from; in the present copy they are taken directly from page images of the 1606 printed *Steganographia*. It will be observed that they are a far cry from the elaborate sigils of the *Ars Theurgia-Goëtia* for the same set of spirits.

Now although we have breifly & fully explaines the uxe of this treatise in the foregoing Isogoge<sup>301</sup> annexed and appertaining hereunto, yet wee shall give some example in this chapter of the manner and forme of proceeding.

[121v] When att any time there should be an occasion to send a message, or Communicate any buisness of secresy or any *<illegible>*<sup>302</sup> importance to a known freind that is far of or in some other Countrey att a great distance doe thus. Prepare some pure white paper, *In the name of the father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost &c.* And write therein whatsoever sincere, evident, & plain narration you please, & in what language you please in such method & forme as you need not fear or care who seeth it, heareth it, or knoweth of it, of what the subject thereof is, haveing regard to turne your face towards the East being the mansion, Quarter, or point of the Compass in which **Pamersiel** and his subservient reside, And when you have written what you thinke fitt, inseret or affix, the sigil, seal or character of **Pamersiel** in a red inscription att the bottom of the letter, but write nothing of your secret intentions in the letter, for that must be verbally communicated to the Spirit.

Having finished what you intend and orderly observed what you ought to be diligent of herein and being ready to dispatch away the message turn your face towards the East & with good Courage & Confidence say the following Conjurational:

**Pamersyel** oshurmy delmuson Thafloyn peano charustrea melany, lyaminto colchan, paroys, madyn, moerlay, bulre + atloor don melcove peloin, ibutsyl meon mysbreath alini driaco person. Cirsolnay, lemon asosle mydar, icoriel pean thalmo, asophiel il notreon banyel ocrimos esteuor naelma besfona thulaomor fronian beldodrayn bon otalmesgo mero fas elnathyn bosramoth.<sup>303</sup>

<sup>301</sup> If this was ever part of this copy, it got separated from it before being bound up with the other materials in Sloane 3824.

<sup>302</sup> Word looks like ‘māāl’ (possibly: the second letter is unclear): from context, possibly meant for “mutual.”

<sup>303</sup> The “Pamersiel” cipher is the simplest of the lot: the first letter of each word in the cover text spells out the plaintext: as suggested by the preceding passages, it is not very secure. Like all the methods of the first book of the *Steganographia*, it also requires much time and creativity on the part of the sender to compose an innocuous-seeming cover text, particularly in a language where word-order matters more than it does in Latin. Trithemius’ *Polygraphia* (written later, but printed in 1518) included a system, the “Ave Maria cipher,” that made the process more mechanical, by presenting a “code book” with 384 “alphabets”—lists of words by which each letter of the Latin alphabet (and the German ß ligature) could be represented, with prepositions & conjunctions to be inserted where needed—the result would read like a string of generic pieties of a kind that it would not be unusual for a devout Christian of the time to prefix to a letter: many of the examples in the *Steganographia*, indeed, were of this form.

In the “conjurational” alternate words, and alternate letters in the remaining words, are to be ignored (the last word is also always to be ignored even if it would be signifying by the general sequence). So the “receiving” conjuration for Pamersiel, *Lamarton anoyr bulon madriel traschon ebrasothea panthenon nabrulges Camery itrasbier rubanthy nadres Calmosi ormenu lan, ytules demy rabion hamorphyn*, decodes to *nym di ersten bugstaben de omny uerbo*, “take the first letters of every word.” The nature of this cipher means that certain copyist or typesetting errors (omitted or extra letters or word breaks) can make nonsense of the message: several such mistakes had crept in by the time the *Steganographia* was printed and were perpetuated into *Trithemius Redivivus* and it has not been practical to fix them all in this copy. Hence only a few “conjurational” are deciphered in this edition.

Now after you have severall times rehearsed the forgoing conjuration (as occasion shall require) & the spirit should not yet appear, it is convenient that you cease & give over for that time least by too much Compulsion prejudice chance to ensure. But if they do appear & present themselves with any obedience unto you then Continue & persevere in the hitherto begun worke & deliver your letter to the messenger assigned for the purpose, but deliver the secret which you send to your friend by word of mouth to the spirit, and now will they immediately offer themselves with violence & clamouring voices &c. But let not that in the least trouble you.

They being now present before you are constrained to fulfil your requests: Then very earnestly urge and desire them faithfully to performe the charge you have committed to them & carefully to deliver the message you send by them to your friend, and to reveale the secret that you verbally send to him privately & to no person else, nor before any one that my probably att that time, be in Company with him, but to him onely &c.

Then will they vanish & immediately flee away &c. and now if you please you may cease action or further practice for that instant time except you will attend for a returne which may be done if your freind have any Knowledge in this Art &c.

When your freind to whom you sent (who ought also to be skilfull in this Art) receaveth the letter and seeth the seal of **Pamersiel** affixed thereto, & knoweth it, let him turne his face towards the East and say the following Conjuration with a good confidence & resolution.

*Lamarton anoyr bulon madriel traschon ebrasothea panthenon nabrulges Camery itrasbier rubanthy nadres Calmosi ormenu lan, ytules demy rabion hamorphyn.*

[122r] When your entire and trusty freind (who ought also to be learned in this Arte as aforesaid) to whom you send, hath red this foregoing Conjuration towards the East &c., The spirit will immediately reveal the secret privately, as you sent to him, verbally; the which secret was not convenient for you to committ either to letter or messenger, otherwise than by this Art. And so shall your freind hereby fully understand your mind &c.

And if it should so happen that your friend by in any Company att the moment of time when the letter and message cometh to him by the spirit you sent, the spirit will be invisible to all in the place except himself, and will give the letter privately to him then let him take leave to depart the Company for a little time & in his repose let him observe and performe what is above sayd. But if it should so happen that his ingagements in that moment cannot permit him opportunity or liberty to depart the place & company let him turn hiselfe to the East & with a low voice say the aforesayn Conjuration, and the

Spirit will immediately reveal the secret Message you sayd verbally to him in his ear privately & not one in the Company perceiving &c.

The Secrets of this Chapter may be sent to a chief steward or Bayliff or any such like king of things according as occasion in such cases shall require. The Offices of these spirits is Likewise to bewray<sup>304</sup> deceitfull Trustees &c.

Nota: It behoveth the Operator to be very prudently diligent & exquisite in the practise of this chapter by reason of the implacability thereof, for it is the most difficult in this Art.

Now understand that by the Exemplification of this chapter as it is here sett down the succeeding method is facile enough even to the meanest Capacity without further Instruction.

## *Chapter II.*

The next Spirit in Order is called **Padiel**, who governeth in that mansion, quarter or point of the Compasse that lyeth directly East & by South,<sup>305</sup> whose seal is thus [↙]. He have under him 10,000 Diurnal & 200,000 Nocturnall minister, and many other servients whose number is uncertain.

The Diurnall Presidentiall Spirits have authority over all operations that are made in the day and are very friendly, & doe readily, willingly, & joyfully obey the master, and if they are called att a fitt & convenient time do immediately come without delay, and the secret that you shall committ unto their charge they will faithfully deliver & reveale to your friends, & to no one else.

These do lead forth the Nocturnall spirits unto obscure places of darkness who all shun the daylight except one, who is the Messenger to the Presidentiall Spirits. They are all very Courteouse and benevolent & not att all offensive, hurtfull or prejudiciale to the master (unless he be maliciose, incredulouse, unskilfull, and not att all dignifyed, and then perchance to such they may prove noxiouse).

It is not requisite to call them altogether att one time because few may suffice, & sometimes one spirit is enough to fulfil the requests of the Operator, whether [122v] it be by day or by night. And as in company they are freindly, flexible, obedient & peaceable; so when alone, they are frequently solitary; but when they come in multitudes, and are numerouse even as it were numberless then they are somewhat boystrouse, filling the Ayre with an unusuall & strenge kind of humming noyse &c.

<sup>304</sup> Obsolete word meaning "reveal," "disclose."

<sup>305</sup> *i.e.*, East-southeast. The Latin *Steganographia* attributes this spirit to *subsolanus*, a somewhat vague term for an easterly wind, but the accompanying figure indicates a direction midway between East and Southeast.

Now when any one is desireouse to operate by these spirits & to intimate by them the secrets of his mind to a trusty friend being absend and residing in some remote part, do thus:

Write upon the prepared paper what discourse you please, but note, insert not threein the proper secret that you intend to conceale to your friend, for that must be delivered verbally to the spirits as aforesaid, to prevent any discover thereof, that may accidentally happen by the Loss or carelesy throwing a letter or paper aside, or otherwise, as many times such a casualty happeneth to one's prejudice) & in what method you please, & in what language you please (it being a matter wholly indifferent & no sensible error)<sup>306</sup> observing the same method as in the precedent chapter is specyfyd &c. All which being done in due Order according as the Art requireth, turne your face towards the East & by south and say this following Conjuration:

**Padiel** aporsy mesarpon omeuas peludyn malpreaxo. Condusen, vlearo thersephi bayl merphon, paroys gebuly ma ilthomyon iltheare tamerson acrimy lon peatha Casmy Chertie, medony reabdo, lasonti iaciel ma atri bulomeon abry pathulmon theoma pathormyn.<sup>307</sup>

Which being rehearsed as oft as is requisite you shall see one or two of these spritis affably present themselves before you, ready & willing to obey you, unto whome you shall by word of mouth commit the secrett message you intend to conceale to your freind, as aforesaid, and not by letter; and that or those spirits will faithfully & undoubtedly performe what they are enjoyned to, and will fully reveal the secret, & make known your mind to your freind, according to your trust & affiance.

When your freind receiveth the letter openeth it, and seeth the seal of the greate Prince, **Padiel** thereto annexet, let him turne himselfe to the East & by the South point of the Compass, and say the following Conjuration:

**Padiel** ariel vanerhon chio tharso phymarto merphon amprisco ledabarym, elsophroy meserpon ameorsy, paneryn atle pachumgel thearan vtrul vt solubito beslonty las gomadyn triamy mefarnothy.

Which Conjuration being by your absent freind truly & orderly rehearsed the spirits sent will presently very courteously appear unto him & will withal perfectly reveal the secret without deceit or danger.

The office of **Padiel** & his subservient spirits is to declare & publish secret avisations for the Correction of malefactors for their imprisonment and punishment &c.

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<sup>306</sup> The ciphers of the *Steganographia* are easier to operate in Latin where the sense of a sentence does not depend on word order to the extent that English does.

<sup>307</sup> In the "Padiel" cipher the plaintext is formed from the first letter of the first, third, fifth, &c. words of the cover text.

[123r] As for example: A certain person is accused by his Prince to whom some criminall offence is imputed, touching the detriment of his highness (or any other such like matter) and the king desires to inflict some suitable punishment on this offender although he live at never so great a distance for him. Now because the King is not willing to wite to him whom he so suspects, and is minded to accuse, least (being so advised) he should either make his escape or unite the strength of his friends to him, and so make resistence; wherefore the Prince forthwith writeth a letter to his Deputy, in such a manner & forme, as he neither feareth nor careth either who seeth, readeth or heareth it but communicates his mind or message secretly by word of mouth (as aforesaid) to the spirits whom he sendeth to his sayd deputy, to whom when they come (which will be almost as soon as thought) they will faythfully declare the Prince's secret: wherefore it is very requisite that both Prince & Deputy should be well instructed in this Art, where the Prince hath remote dominions, & suspicious subjects.<sup>308</sup>

There is another Character & conjuration that belongeth to the spirit Padiel (which we thought good to insert, thou there be no great necessity &c.) which other seal is thus [Ζ Ζ Ή] & Conjuration as followeth.

**Padiel** melion, parme, camiel busayr, ilnoma, venoga, pamelochyn.

### Chapter III.

The third spirit in Order is named **Camuel**, who ruleth as a Prince in the South East mansion, whose is thus characteriz'd [✚]. He hath 10 Diurnall, & 10 nocturnall Presidents. The Diurnall spirits shunneth not the darkness nor the nocturnall spirits the light. And when necessity requireth the one assistenth the other in the Commission of the master. The nature of this spirituall Prince **Camuel** is very benevolent, and he is ready to emitt his substitutes to him, who shall practise in this Art after a due & regular forme. He hath but few ministers, but every of them is obedient, faythfull & good, & being called upon doe readily attend the Master: And when they visibly appear the one is manifest in a beautifull habitt of a mixt colour, & the other are accustomed to stand in a Lucid & splendent forme: yet they usually appear onely in their sensible effects & manifest not themselves but att the pleasure of the Invocant. And wee shall heare mention so many of the Presidentiall Subsituates of **Camuel**, together with the number of their subservient as will suffice for purpose and practice.

Wee have in this table the names of some of the Diurnall & of some of the nocturnall Presidential substitutes of Camuel with the numbers of so many subservient as are properly attributed to each of them respectively. And where there is nothing sett over

<sup>308</sup> All the example letters (containing messages in the appropriate ciphers) are omitted in *Trithemius Redivivus*: translating them literally would have destroyed the hidden messages anyway.

against Tediel, Moriel & Tugaros, it signifies that those spirits have no attendance: All the rest have so many subservient spirits officiateing under the Presidents as the numbers specifie which are sett against their names in the Table &c.

<i>Diurnal Presidents</i>		<i>Nocturnal Presidents</i>	
Orpeniel —	10.	Assiniel —	100.
Camyael —	100.	Calym —	100.
Budiel —	10.	Dobiel —	100.
Elcar —	10.	Nodar —	10.
Citgara —	100.	Phaniel —	10.
Pariel —	10.	Maras —	100.
Cariel —	10.	Azymo —	10.
Neriel —	10.	Tediel —	00.
Daniel —	10.	Oriel —	00.
Omyel —	10.	Tugaras —	00.

When you would practise or operate any thing by the office or ministery of Camuel, and have the assistance of these spirits [123v] that appertain unto him; First observe & performe what is requisite in this art to be done (as is before taught) then direct your selfe and Invocations punctually South East being the residential mansion of Camuel, & his Spirituall Subservitors, & moderately say the following Conjuration:

**Camuel** aperoys, melym meuomanial, casmoyn cralty busaco aeli lumar photirion theor besamys, aneal Cabelonyr thiamo vesonthy.

And note, Let this Rule be carefully all along observed both in the foregoing & succeeding chapters and Conjurations in this Treatise that where the Presidentiall Spirits are nominated or inserted, be sure let the name of that spirit which is appointed to officiate, or be the messenger, be expressed or inserted next after the name of the spirit in the Conjuration.

When you have seriously and silently sayd the foregoing conjuration & made as often repetitions thereof as is necessary then will you see the spirites appere presenting themselves ready & willing to fulfil your desires. Then Commissionate the appointed Spirit & emitt him who will immediately hast away & faithfully performe what he is enjoyned to &c.

Now is a return or an answere of the message be expected to be brought back from the absent friend by the same spirit you sent to him & he should not make such expedition again as otherwise might be thought he would doe, yet let not that in any wise beget any doubt of dishearten you by reason of delay, but persevere & attend for there is no question to be made of their fidelity answerable to your trust reposed in them. And let all things be done silently without any noyse or passionate disturbances whatsoever.

When he to whom the Message is sent, receaveth the letter, openeth it, and therein seeth the Seal of **Camuel** and knoweth it, observing first what is requisite to be performed in this Art, let him direct his countenance to the South East point of the Compasse, & silently rehearse the following Conjuration:

**Camuel** *Busarcha, menaton enatiel, meran sayr abasremon, nacula pesarum nadru lasmon enoti chamabet usear lespony abrulmy pen sayr thubarym, gonayr asmonfriacha rynon ontry hamerson buccurmy pedauellon.*

Which when he hath thus done the Spirit will immediately reveale the secret message unto him & will faithfully bring back any message fro him, if it be desired whereby you may as fully know your friends mind as he knows yours.

The Office of **Camuel** & his attending servitours in his Orbicular Mansion is to declare the comeing, intention, condition, wayse & journeys of messengers together with their Arrival & returne &c.<sup>309</sup>

### *Chapter IV.*

The fourth Spirit in Order Successively is the great & potent Prince **Asieliel**, whose Seale is thus noted [🂱] and who resideth in that mansion which is directly South & by East.<sup>310</sup> This poetent Prince **Asieliel** hath under him 10 Diurnal & 20 Nocturnal Presidents under whom are 30 principal Spirits, and under these again are as many subservient who are by order emitted to their offices when they are in due manner called by the Master Artist: And under whom again are likewise a greate number of subservient spirits who all Continually and gradually attended on the Prince of this Order.

<i>Diurnal Presidents</i>		<i>Nocturnal Presidents</i>	
Mariel —	20.	Asphiel —	20.
Charas —	20.	Curiel —	20.
Parniel —	20.	Chamos —	20.
Aratiel —	20.	Odiel —	20.
Cubiel —	20.	Melas —	20.
Aniel —	20.	Sariel —	20.
Asahel —	20.	Othiel —	20.
Arcan —	20.	Bufar —	20.

[124r] Now if you would either diurnally or nocturnally operate in this Art by the Prince of this mansion & the spirits that appertain to him it is needless to invocate any more then one or two, for it is sufficient enough for any one or two purposes according to the tenour & property of this Offices: Some of the principal whereof or as many as are requisite to know, wee shall here nominate together with the number of the servitors &c.

Wee have in this annexed table nominated 16 of the Principal Presidents that under under the powerfull Prince **Asieliel**, eight whereof governe in the day & eight in the nigh, & every of them hath 20 subjected familiars whom they emitt to their Offices whensoever it is required by and proficient in this Art. And know, that all these Spirituall Presidentiall Princes are very benevolent & Courteouse, and with all readiness & submission doe willingly performe their Allegiance to the Master att his instant request

<sup>309</sup> In the “Camuel” cipher, the initial letters of the second, fourth, sixth, &c. words of the cover text spell out the hidden message. I have not managed to completely decipher the “conjurations” which are probably corrupt.

<sup>310</sup> i.e., South-Southeast (Lat. *Euroauster*).

and Command: but all their substituted familiars are not so, but are oftentimes somewhat obstinate refractory & implacable (and especially to such who are but weake sciolists & mean proficients in this Art. All which (as wee sayd before) are sufficient to doe what wee please for us; for which purpose there are enough here nominated. Now whosoever hath a mind to practise by the ministry & Office of this Spiritual & great Prince **Asielie** & his substituted Presidents & servients must 1<sup>st</sup> observe & performe what this Art requireth, & turne his face directly to the South and by East point of the Compass, & with moderate earnestness & fervency invocate as followeth:

**Asielie** aproysy, melym, thulnear casmoyn, mauear burson, charny demorphaon, Theoma asmeryn diuel, casponti vearly basamys, ernoti chaua lorson.<sup>311</sup>

This being sayd the Spirits will appear in due Order ready & willing to obey ther Commissionnale which soever of them is appointed or that you shall make choice of to be the Messenger & so emitt him away to his duty according to his Office who will infallibly forthwith performe & fulfil his taske. When the absent freind receiveth the letter & seeth the seal of **Asielie** thereunto annxed & knoweth it, let him first Observe & fulfil what in this Art is requires & then direct his Countenance to the South & by East, & with an humble & earnest intent read the following Conjuration:

**Asielie** murnea casmodym bularcha vadusyn aty belron diuel arsephonti si panormys orleuo cadon Venoti basramyn.<sup>312</sup>

This Contestation being rehearsed as often as is requisite & things of Course observed the spirituall messenger will visibly appear & reveale his secret message.

The Office of these spirits is to declare those things which belong to the love of women & whatsoever else appertaineth thereunto &c.

### *Chapter V.*

The fifth mansion from the East is the South, whose great & potent Prince is the spirit **Barmiel**, whose seale is thus Charaktered [⋮]. He hath under his dominion 10 Principal Dukes with their subservient ruleing in the day, & 20 Ruleing in the night together with their Attendants.

[124v] Now wheres we see the nocturnall spirits more in number than the Diurnall, it is because the operation of this mansion is more frequently made in the night than in the day. And who so would make an experiment in this arte by this powerfull prince **Barmiel**, must call upon one of his princes (it matters not which) and he will

<sup>311</sup> post unam vacantem due valent.

<sup>312</sup> una vacat, due soluant. Roughly, skip one, take two: in the *Asielie* cipher the initials of the second, third, fifth, sixth (as so on) words in the cover text spell out the hidden message.

immediately come with 20 Attendants; (for the Princes of this mansion seldome come alone or with less number). And herein observe this Caution, entrust not any secret to the subservient Spirits of this Order, for they are sometimes haughty, pertinacious and perverse; but to the Prince, for he is Courteouse, benevolent & faythfull &c.

Wee shall nominate some of the best and choycest of them that are more ready & willing to obey upon occasion, being as many as wee Conceave either needfull or requisite &c.

<i>Diurnal Presidents</i>		<i>Nocturnal Presidents</i>	
Sochas —	20.	Barbis —	20.
Tigara —	20.	Marquus —	20.
Chansi —	20.	Caniel —	20.
Keriel —	20.	Acreba —	20.
Acterar —	20.	Marcaix —	00.
Barbil —	20.	Baabel —	00.
Carpiel —	20.	Gabir —	00.
Mansi —	20.	Astib —	00.

Here is presented in this table 8 Diurnall & 8 nocturnall Presidentiall ministering spirits appertaining to the great prince **Barmiel**, 16<sup>313</sup> whereof have 20 Subservients a piece attending them with whom also they are wont to appear: The other 4 have no servients but always come alone, and are very faythfull and dextrouse in their offices to doe all things that shall be enjoyned them.

Whsoever therefore is in tended to prosecute any thing in this art by the ministry or assistance of **Barmiel** the cheife Prince ruleing & residing in the mansion of the South or any of his attending spirits ought first to observe and performe what is requisitie in this Art to be done, and then direct his intentions and Countenance to the South, say the following Contestation.

**Barmiel**, *buras melo charnotiel malapos veno masphian albryon, chasmia peluo morophon apluer charmya noty Mesron alraco caspiel hoalno chorbem ouear aserea cralnoty carephon elcsor bumely nesitan army tu faron.*

When the Spirits are seen to appear then communicate to the most trusty of them (as is fore specified) buy send a letter by which you please it matters not.

When the absent freind receaveth your letter, opens it and finds the seal of **Barmiel** thereunto affixed and knowing the same, let him first observe such directions as the Art requireth, then turne himselfe to the South and say this Contestation.

**Barmiel** *any casleon archoi bulesan eris, Casray molaer pessaro duys anale goerno mesrue greal cusere drelnoz, parle cufureti basriel afly maraphe neaslo, carnoserneo, damerosenotis any carpodyn.*

All which being duly observed & performed then immediately will the Spirit entrusted with the secret reveal all things faithfully unto him without either the least danger, or any notice to be taken by whomsoever should be accidentally present.

<sup>313</sup> sic., .s.b. "12."

## Chapter VI.

The 6th Mansion is in the South and by West,<sup>314</sup> the supreme prince possessing and governing is Gediel the great, whose seal is thus decyphered [•••]. He hath under his dominions 20 Diurnal, & 20 Nocturnall Captains, governing over many subservient Spirits.

[125r] Whosoever will practice in this Art by the ministry and assistance of this mighty Prince **Gediel**, and by his substituted Presidents, ought to invoke two of the Principall Subservient Dukes and their 20 Servants, without whom they avail not much. And as many of them as are needful to be known or called upon to their offices, either Diurnally or Nocturnally with the number of their Servients, followeth.

<i>Diurnal</i>		<i>Nocturnal</i>	
Coliel —	20.	Reciel —	20.
Naras —	20.	Sadiel —	20.
Sabas —	20.	Agra —	20.
Assabi —	20.	Anael —	20.
〔Sariel — 20.〕		Aroan —	20.
Ransiel —	20.	Cirecas —	20.
Mashel —	20.	Aglas —	20.
Bariel —	20.	Uriel —	20.

Here is nominated in this annexed table 8 Diurnall<sup>315</sup> & 8 Nocturnall Spirituall Presidents serving under **Gediel** the great Prince and governer in the South and by West Mansion, and with whom they always abide. Now altho this great Prince together with many of his subservitors are oftentimes dangerouse and violent offring themselves not only invisibly but with terror and clamouring voyces to the amazement of the Invocant: yet those which are

here nominated are very benevolent courteouse & secure and need not either be feared or doubted for they are faythfull and obedient, and are willingly ready to fulfil and performe those Commands that shall be imposed upon them, therefore they may safely be entrusted with any *<illegible>*<sup>316</sup> Secrets coherent to their offices.

Whoso would seek the ayd and assistance of this spirituall Prince & Potentate **Gediel**, and such of his substitutes as inhabite in his mansion upon any emergent business to an absent freind of her afar of, and cannot tell how to send or entrust anyone with a letter to him then let this art be made use of by calling to they helpe and supply such of the benevolent spirits of this mansion as are forespecified. To do which first observing to perform what in art is requistite then direct the Countenance & course of affairs directly to the South and by West, and confidently say the following conjuration:

**Gediel** asiel modebar mpiel, caskoyn, rochamurenu proys nasaron atido casmear vearys, maludym velchain demesar otiel masdurym sodiuiel mesray seoramarlun, laueur pealo netus fabelron.

<sup>314</sup> i.e., South-southwest (*Astro-africus*).

<sup>315</sup> Sariel was omitted in the MS., leaving only seven diurnal spirits; restored from printed *Steganographia*.

<sup>316</sup> 'māal' (?) again.

Which being done and things of course observes the 2 Princes nominated and called will be patient, obedient, (obedient) and affable and ready to fulfil whatsoever shall be requested according to the office and order of the Mansion and its Princes.

When the absent party receaveth the letter sent and seeth the seal of **Gediel** then & knoweth it, let him observe what is to be done, and what behoveth him in this art to doe, and then turne his countenance to the South by west and say this subsequent Contestation:

**Gediel** aprois<sup>317</sup> camor ety moschoyn diuial palorsan, sermel, asparlon Crisphe Lamedon ediur cabosyn arsy thamerosyn.

Which being orderly performed, the spirit sent will visibly appear to him and verbatim rehearse the secret message, not any one perceiving the present.

The office of **Gediel** and these spirits subordinate to him resideing in this 6<sup>th</sup> Mansion situate South by West is to declare all things that belongeth to the advisement of freinds, concerning any eminent & future dangers, & more especially to Princes for the dfence of their cities, castles, &c., and to publish all things that are profitable to freinds even against all enemies & aduerseries whatsoever.

[125v] *Chapter VII.*

The 7<sup>th</sup> Mansion is situtated directly South-West, the supreme spirit regulating wherein is the great and puissant Prince **Assyriel**,<sup>318</sup> whose seale is thus decyphered [⋮⋮—]. He hath under his dominion 20 Diurnal, & 20 Nocturnal Princes, who likewise have under them again many familiars, and subservient Attendants, all resideing in this Mansion.

Whosoever would require the ayd and assistance of the Prince of this South-West mansion Assyriel the great, or any of his substitutes, either by day or by night, this Rule ought to be observed, that if Diurnall spirits are to be invocated, then must 2 of the President Angells be called upon, because they are not accustomed to come alone nor unattended for they usually come attended with 20 subservitors waiteing on them. But if the Nocturnall Princes be invocated, then but one of those presidentiall spirits need to be called upon who comes attended onely with 10 servants. But for as many as are usefull, and fitt to be known, and how each one is accustomarily atteneded, is nominated and sett down in this annexed Table, being needless to insert any more, these being sufficient.

<sup>317</sup> aprois originally written, corrected in margin.

<sup>318</sup> Asiriel in the printed *Steganographia*.

<i>Diurnal</i>	<i>Nocturnal</i>
Astor — 20—20.	Amiel — 20—20.
Carga — 20—20.	Cusiel — 20—20.
Buniel — 20—20.	Maroth — 20—20.
Rabas — 20—20.	Omiel — 20—20.
Archisal — 20—00.	Budar — 10—00.
Adriel — 20—00.	Aspiel — 10—00.
Cusiel — 20—00.	Fassus — 10—00.
Malqueel — 20—00.	Hamas — 10—00.

Here is inserted in this subjoined Table 16 of the principal servitors with the number of their attendants officiateing under the great Spirituall Prince **Assyriel** all bearing rule in the south west mansion. They are all benevolent enough but yet notwithstanding sometimes proud and haughty too and have this Custome among them that when the Exorcist speaketh to them

they send forth their servants and returne back themselves alone, for they may not hear the Commission: And when the Master ceaseth speaking to the Prince, then doe the servants seem to be present.

And with all this Rule is to be carefully observed that when one or two Ruleing Spirits of this Mansion serving under **Assyriel** are called upon by their names, the number of their servants ought also to be expressed, because they being proud, it wonderfully pleaseth and delighteth them, for that they are sayd to have authority over a multitude of Clyentiall<sup>319</sup> spirits.

And that they may the better be discerned when they are present they are most Commonly wont to appear in a saffron or a Copper coloured Habitt, but their familiars usually appear in white Vestures.

Whosoever would call upon or invocate of the spirits resideing in this mansion first observe, what in Art is requisite, as aforesayd, and then turning to the South-West let the following Conjuration be devoutly rehearsed:<sup>320</sup>

**[Assyriel]** aphorsy Lamodyn to Carmephyn drubal asutroy Sody baruchon, vsefer palormy thulncar asmeron chornemadusyn coleny busarethon duys marphelithubra nasaron veneer fabelronty.

After some seriose repetitions of this Conjuration they will immediately appear ready to receave Commands, and to performe what is to be required of them according to their Offices.

And it is here to be observed that no letter or secret message is with safety to be committed or entrusted to any of the inferior subservient under the Princes of this hierarchy, but to a Prince, because the superior spirits are more faythfull.

<sup>319</sup> I'm not sure if this was an English word at the time; represents *clientelis* in the Latin.

<sup>320</sup> Due to scribal eye-skip, the latter part of this chapter is somewhat disarranged in S4: the scribe wrote the “receiving” (decoding) conjuration here, carried on to the end of the chapter, then noticed the omission and wrote the omitted text (here flagged by square brackets and restored to its proper place) in afterwards.

When the absent party to whom the letter or secret message is sent by the Spirits of this order, receaveth the sayd letter, openeth it and seeth the seal of Asyriel affixed thereunto, let him carefully observe and performe, what according to the prescript Rules in this Art is requisite, then keeping his Countenance turned to the South West lett him with Courage [say] the conjuration above written which beginneth thus, and so proceed to the end of this chapter: by reason of the mistake in the Conjuration.]

**Asyriel** *onear Camor Laueuel gamer sothin ianoz alnay bulumer palorson, irgiel lamdeon, ludiel Caparosyn nany asparlon nadiel bulephor ianos pesonry tresloty Camon elyr, mearsu nosy thamerosyn.*

[126r] And anon the Spirituall Prince with his servants will visibly appear to him and faithfully by word of mouth will silently and gently deliver the secret message sent by him to the Absent, tho he be never in so far a Countrey, or att never so great a distance even with such privacy that no other person (tho there should be more in place) shall either hear, see, understand or in the least discover, perceave or suspect any thing.

The offices of these spirits is to reveale & disclose secret matters & things of superlative, materiall and weighty Concernments &c.

### *Chapter VIII.*

The eighth mansion is in that point of the Compass that is scituate directly west and by south,<sup>321</sup> where resideth and governeth the great Spirituall Prince Maseriel, with an infinite number of Princes, Dukes and Servants and whose seale is thus deciphered or noted [西红]. He hath out of the former company appointed thirty Diurnall and thirty nocturnall ministering Spirits &c. But for as many as are needfull to be known are inserted in the ensuing table which are sufficient, for any persons practise soever, that that a mind to be Curiose in this Art, but beware that you duly & truly observe Every Rule which is prescribed herein according to Art &c.

[126v] In this annexed Table is nominated 12 Diurnal, & 12 Nocturnal presidentiall spirits ruling as Princes & ministering under Maseriel in the West and by South Mansion together with a certain number of their subservients, who are all very benevolent & faythfull in whatsoever is required of them according to their offices not returning till all things that was committed to their trust be fully & effectually performed to good Likeing &c.

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<sup>321</sup> i.e., West-Southwest (*favonius*).

<i>Diurnal</i>		<i>Nocturnal</i>	
Mahuc —	30.	Arach —	30.
Roviel —	30.	Maras —	30.
Fariel —	30.	Noquiel —	30.
Zeriel —	30.	Sarmiel —	30.
Athiel —	30.	Amoyr —	30.
Vessur	30.	Badiel —	30.
Azimel	30.	Baros —	30.
Chasor	30.	Eliel —	30.
Potiel	30.	Earas —	30.
Alsuel —	30.	Rabiel —	30.
Aliel —	30.	Atriel —	30.
Espoel —	30.	Salvar —	30.

They come quietly without any noyse or clamours, and either come alone, & sometimes with many, at other times again with few, & att some other times without any attendant, all att all even as they shall be desired neither terrifying nor affrightning the Invocant unless he be unskilfull in this Art presuming to undertake what he understands not &c.

Now who so hath att any times an emergent occasion to send to a freind who is far remote in some other Countrey & would have the assistance of **Maseriel** and his ministering

subservient to officiate (to officiate) for him in carrying or communicating a secret message to his absent freind, let him be carefull in observing what the Art requires, & direct his Actions and Countenance to the west and by South, & rehearse the subsequent Conjunction:

**Maseriel** *bulan lamodyn charnoty carmephin jabrun caresathroyn asulroy bevesy cadumyn turiel busan Sevear: almos lycadufel ernoty panier lethar care pheory bulan thorty paron Venio Fabel ronthusy.*

Things of Course being thus duly performed the spirit that was called by name will forthwith visibly appear; Then Commisionate him and send him forth &c.

When the absent party receaveth the letter openeth it & seeth the Seal of **Maseriel** therein affixed, let him first observe and performe what in this Art is requisite to be done, and then turne his Countenance to the west & by South and silently with a devout Resolution rehearse the following Conjunction:

**Maseriel** *onear Camersin, Cohodor messary lyrno balnaon greal, lamedon odiel, pedarnoy nador ianozauy chamyrin.*

Which being done the spirit which was sent wil immediately appear to him and will also trustily by word of mouth very seriously & privately communicate the secret message as he was enjoyned, no body perceiving, tho any one should be in (in) place.

The Office of these Spirits is to declare and relate the Secrets of humane Arts as Philosophy magick, Arithmatick<sup>322</sup> &c. And all such wonderfull mysticall & occult learning, as is rarely known among the sons of men.

<sup>322</sup> *Necromantiae* in the Latin *Steganographia* (T1606 p. 25).

### Chap. IX.

The 9<sup>th</sup> Mansion is in that point of the Compass that is Scituate directly West the Supreme Spirit governing wherein, is the great and Potent Prince [127r] **Malgaras** whose Seal is thus noted [掣-]. He hath under him 30 Diurnall & 30 Nocturnall ministering Spirits, serving as Dukes who present themselves upon call to the Invocant according to their Orders and Offices. And here are as many select Presidentiall Spirits or Dukes serving under **Malgaras** nominated in this subjoined Table as is sufficient, being altogether needless to insert any more.

Diurnal	Nocturnal
Carmiel — 30.	Aroc — 30.
Meliel — 30.	Dobiel — 30.
Boras — 30.	Cubi — 30.
Agor — 30.	Libiel — 30.
Casiel — 30.	Raboc — 30.
Rabiel — 30.	Aspiel — 30.
Cabiel — 30.	Caron — 30.
Udiel — 30.	Zamor — 30.
Oriel — 30.	Amiel — 30.
Misiel — 20.	Aspor — 20.
Barfas — 20.	Deilas — 20.
Aroiz — 10.	Basiel — 10.

In this adjoyed Table is inscribed 12 of the Diurnall and 12 of the nocturnall Presidential Dukes and a certain number of their subservient officiating under Malgaras the supreme and mighty Prince in the Mansion of the West. And here it is too be understood, that **Aroiz** & **Basiel** do always come alone, and **Misiel**, **Barfas**, **Aspor**, **Deilas** may be called by two and two according as they are placed in the table, and the rest may be called by 3 and 3.<sup>323</sup> But consideration<sup>324</sup> and judgement is required in this point, that when one, two or 3 of the spirits of this Hierarchy

are called upon, be carefull that there be no mistake, because the change of place is somewhat dangerouse. All these spirits are by nature very benevolent & courteouse and are att all times obedient to the calls of the Invocant and readily fulfill his requests; And especially the Diurnall Presidents because they are always accustomed to be conversant amoungst men; but the nocturnall Spirits are not willingly frequent amoungst men (altho they are by nature very benevolent too) but doe much fly from & detest the light desiring to be hid in darkness (as being most delighting therein) and for that cause they are wont most frequently to appear (when they are called by Conjuration) like Bats or

<sup>323</sup> The red rules across the table reflect how each section was split up by columns in the printed *Steganographia*.

<sup>324</sup> Doubtful: word appears as 'Drāōn', the initial character being an abbreviation for 'con' or 'com' (not used by any of the other scribes of S4); this passage is fairly freely paraphrased from the Latin, which has *cum volueris habere tres aut duos aut unum, cave ne erres in nominibus eorum.*

The names of the "Dukes" in any case appear to be part of the cover text and have no part in the cipher system, since the only thing indicating to the recipient of your message which cipher you are using is the character of the principal spirit. The numbers of "diurnal" and "nocturnal" servitors mentioned in the main text in some instances appear to have reference to the particular cipher system, *e.g.* the "10 diurnal and 20 nocturnal" presidents under Asiel correspond to the cipher where one "filler" word in the cover text is followed by two signifying.

rear-mice &c. and are slow by nature, wherefore they doe not usually appear immediately: But by perseverance and a Continued reiterating or oft repeating the Conjunction they are at length even urged and Constrained to shew themselves visibly forth & so by degrees are brought to submission & obedience, notwithstanding the preceding difficulty.

Now when any thing is to be done by the ministry and assistance of the Spirituall Prince Malgaras, and these Spirits that officiate under him resideing in the mansion of the West; First, observe and perform what in art is required, and then have recourse to the precedent Table making choice of such spirits are are thought fitt to be employed in the administration of affayrs according to their Orders and Offices as therein they are nominated and distinctly sett down, by takeing one, 2 or 3 att a call being carefull not to mistake or change your<sup>325</sup> places for then all is but labour in vain and to no purpose: But things of course being respectively observed and performed turne to the West, and say the following Conjunction.

**Malgaras** *ador chameso bulueriny mareso bodyr Cadumir aviel casmyo tedy pleoryn viordi eare viorba, chameron vesy thuriel ulnavy, bevesy meuo chasmironty naor ernesyo, chony barmo calevodyn barso thurba sol.*

And then after a little pause these Spirits that are called by name according to the prescript Rules (or Requirements) in this Art will visibly appear, very courteous and affable [127v] then Comissionate them, and send them away &c.

When he to whom the letters are sent receaveth them and findeth the seal of the great Prince **Malgaras** therein affixed, let him first observe what in this Art is requisite, and having performed the same turne himselfe to the west & say the following Conjunction:

**Malgaras** *apro chameron asoty mesary throes Zameda sogreal paredon adre Caphoron onatyr tiro beosy. Chameron phorsy mellon tedrumarsy dumaso duise Casmiel elthurny peson alproys fabelronty Sturno panalmo nador.*

Then immediately will the Spirit that was sent visibly appear unto him and will faithfully with much privacy communicate the secret message he was entrusted with.

The office of these spirits is to declare the secrets & familiar trusts of one friend to another, and in those things that is common to men in all extemporary affairs, as money, goods paroned,<sup>326</sup> lent or trusted &c. And also in any other matter of humane Commerce or concernment.

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<sup>325</sup> y<sup>r</sup> in MS.; in context, possibly meant for “their.”

<sup>326</sup> Doubtful word, probably an obsolete useage.

### Chap. X.

The 10<sup>th</sup> Mansion is in that point of the Compass scituate directly West & by North,<sup>327</sup> wherein the mighty and powewrfull Prince Dorothiel beareth the Supreme and principal<sup>328</sup> Sway, whose Seal is thus characterised [~]. He hath under his Dominion 40 Diurnal and 40 Nocturnal Presidents, with an innumerable company of subsurvients, out of whwhich here are so many nominated in the following table as is sufficient for any purpose appertaining to the ministry & office of this Hierarchy, neither indeed is there any necessity to insert any more &c.:<sup>329</sup>



For y <sup>e</sup> 1 <sup>st</sup> 6 hours of y <sup>e</sup> day	For the last of y <sup>e</sup> day	For y <sup>e</sup> 1 <sup>st</sup> 6 hours of night	For the last of y <sup>e</sup> night
Mugael 40	Gudiel 400	Nachiel 40	Phutiel 400
Choriel 40	Asphor 400	Osysiel <sup>330</sup> 40	Cayros 400
Artinc 40	Emuel 400	Bulis 40	Narsiel 400
Efiel 40	Souiel 400	Moniel 40	Moziel 400
Maniel 40	Cabron 400	Pasiel 40	Arosziel <sup>331</sup> 400
Suriel 40	Diviel 400	Gariel 40	Cusync 400
Carsiel 40	Abriel 400	Soriel 40	Uraniel 400
Fubiel 40	Danael 400	Darbori 40	Pelusar 400
Carba 40	Lomor 400	Paniel 40	Abael 400
Merach 40	Cesael 400	Curfas 40	Meroth 400
Althor 40	Busiel 400	Aliel 40	Cadriel 400
Omael 40	Larfos 400	Maziel 40	Lobiel 400

[128r] Here are out of every Order of the Princes of **Dorothiel**, 24 Diurnal & 24 Nocturnall Dukes together with the several numbers of their subservient respectively, as they stand inscribed in the precedent Tables, the which are sufficient for all operations any way properly appertaining to their Offices. Now the way of practiseing in this by the spirits of this mansion differeth from the rest, as shall be hereunder briefly declared.

It is therefore to be understood, that there 24 hours in the day & in the night, and they are governed by the 7 planetts: The 12 hours of the day are from ☉ riseing to ☉ setting:

<sup>327</sup> i.e., west-northwest (Lat. *chorus*).

<sup>328</sup> Doubtful; represented by an abbreviation that looks like 'pr̄cāl.'

<sup>329</sup> The following angular figure in red appeared in the printed *Steganographia* in this place, with the names *Mugael*, *Choriel*, *Artinc* and *Efiel* (also indicated as to be written in red, and with the number 0 next to each) in a column to the left of it. In S4 it was copied again twice in black to the right of the main figure.

<sup>330</sup> *Ofisiel* in T1606 (apparently transcribed correctly in the main text).

<sup>331</sup> *Aroziel* in T1606.

And the 12 hours of the night are from Sun setting to Sun rising, as by the doctrine & books of Astronomy is more fully sett down, & amply to be understood, relation being thereunto had and observed, &c.<sup>332</sup>

Whosoever therefore att any time hath an occasion or is minded to make use of at any of the Presidentiall substitutes officiating under **Dorothiel**, first Consider & seriously view the fore-going Table, the use whereof is briefly thus: The first four spirits, as **Mugael**, **Choriel**, **Artinc**, **Efiel**, governeth in the first 2 hours of the day, this is, the 2 first Planetary hours, beginning att the ☉ riseing according to their equall or unequall proportions in length as the time or season of the year happeneth. The 2<sup>d</sup> four spirits as **Maniel**, **Suriel**, **Carsiel** & **Fubiel**, governe in the 2<sup>d</sup> two planetary hours, & so successively as they are placed in the Table, &c.

And so likewise again **Nachiel**, **Ofisiel**, **Bulis**, **Moniel** are to be called in the two first hours of the night, and so the rest following successively in their respected Orders as aforesayd, so that now the main observation herein is thus, that whosoever will call upon any of the Spirits in this Mansion serving under Dorothiel must have regard to the time or hour of the day or the night, and whether it be in the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>d</sup>, 3<sup>d</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, fifth or 6<sup>th</sup> two hours thereof according to the planetary Regiments & Regulations, which being known, then may those 4 Spirits, which are appropriates thereunto be called upon, or any one particular of them, who are always present<sup>333</sup> in their order, time & government, but not otherwise, for it is Contrary to their natures &c.

The premises considered & observed, & things of course also rightly performed as in this Art is requisite and ought of right to be, then to the west & by north point of the Compasse then call upon one or more of the four Spirits which are present in their proper hours or times, saying the following Conjuration:

*Dorothiel cusi feor madylon busar pamersy shear ianothym baony Camersy vlymeor peathan adial cadumyr renear thubra Cohagier maslon Lodierno fabelrusyn.*

Then immediately will the Spirits, or Spirit called upon, appear willingly & readily obeying &c. unto whom any secret may be very securely Comitted, & then send them away.

When the absent party receaveth the letter, openeth it & seeth the Seal of **Dorothiel** therein affixed, let him first observe & performe what on his part of behalf in [128v] this

<sup>332</sup> This refers to the system of planetary “days and hours” whereby the first “hour” of each day (defined as one of 12 equal divisions of the time from sunrise to sunset, which will only be an actual hour at the Equinoxes) is referred to the planet to which the day is ascribed, and from thence cycling through the planets in the order of increasing apparent rate of motion seen from the Earth’s surface (*i.e.* Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sol, Venus, Mercury, Luna), with the period from sunset to sunrise similarly divided into 12. Possibly because of how the ascription of days to classical Planets originated, this will result in an unbroken sequence through the week.

<sup>333</sup> Doubtful: word represented by an unclear abbreviation, restored from context.

Art is required, and then turne his Countenance to the West and by North being the Mansion of this Hierarchy and with a Low voyce repeat the subsequent conjuration:

**Dorothiel** *onear chameron vlyfeor madusyn peony oriel nyd druse mouayr pamerson etro dumseon, dauor caho. Casmiel hayrno, fabelrunthon.*

Now if the spirit should not presently [appear] but delayeth his comeing or shew himselfe let him repeat the Conjuration, and in a short time he will certainly appear visibly to him and will faithfully by word of mouth deliver the secret message to him privately in his ear, no body else perceiving (though any should be in place).

The Office of these Spirits is to declare those Secrets that belong to Spirituall affairs And to Ecclesiasticall gifts, Benefices, Prelatures, Dignities and such Like &c.

### Chap. XI

The 11<sup>th</sup> Mansion is in that point of the Compass scituate directly North-West, where ruleth the great Prince **Usiel**, whose Seale is thus noted [—]. He hath under him in his dominion 40 Diurnal & 40 Nocturnall Princes, But the ensuing table specifies as many thereof as is necessary for use &c.<sup>334</sup>

<i>Diurnal</i>		<i>Nocturnal</i>	
Abaria —	40.	Ansoel —	40.
Ameta —	40.	Godiel —	40.
Arnen —	40.	Barfos —	40.
Herne —	40.	Burfa —	40.
Saefar —	40.	Saddiel —	40.
Poriel —	40.	Sobiel —	40.
Saefar —	40.	Ossidiel —	40.
Maqui —	40.	Adan —	40.
Amandiel —	30.	Asuriel —	20.
Barsu —	30.	Almoel —	20.
Garnacu —	30.	Phathir —	20.
Hissam —	30.	Marae	20.
Fabariel —	30.	Laspharon —	10.
Usiniel —	30.	Ethiel —	10.

Out of the 40 Diurnal and 40 Nocturnall Presidentiall Princes serving under **Usiel** here are 14 of each inserted in this adjoined table together with a certain number of their servients the use thereof shall be amply and breifly declared att the latter end of this chapter. The Princes of this Mansion are by nature Courteouse, benevolent and obedient & usually doe appear willingly (willingly) and immediately upon call, except the undertaker be unlearned and unskilfull in this Art, and then they appear more slowly and remisse; And although they have many servants, yet I

never see that they brought any with them (at least wise visibly) yet notwithstanding their servants are to be made use of in this Art, because they being subattendant under

<sup>334</sup> The table has been rearranged from the printed *Steganographia* (T1606 p. 34-5). The characters above the "Diurnall" servitors originally appeared below the first set of 14 names (arranged in 4 columns by 4, 4, 3, 3) and the characters above the "Nocturnall" servitors were printed in the table, occupying the third row of the third and fourth columns respectively in the second division. In the *Ars Theurgia-Goëtia* they were adapted as the seals of *Abari*, *Maqui*, *Ansoel* and *Adan*.

their Princes, and the Superior Spirits of this mansion are bound to obey both them and the Calls and requests of the Invocant according to their Offices &c.

At what time soever therefore any of the Princes or other the subservient spirits of this mansion ministering under Usiel are to be called upon, first observe & performe what in art is required, then to the N. West with a fixt intent say this Conjuration:

**Usiel** parnothiel chameron briosity sthrubal brionear Caron sotronthi egypia odiel Chelory mear Chadusy notiel ornych turbelsi paneras thorthay pean adresmo boma arnotiel Chelmodyn drusarloy sodiuel Carson, Eltrae myre notiel mesraym Venea dublearsy mauear melusyron chartulneas fabelmerusyn.

[129r] Then immediately will the Spirit called upon forthwith appear unto whom a secret message may be committed together with the seale of the profound mystery, and then they may be comissionated and dispatched on their errand without doubting any thing.

When the absent party receaveth a letter, openeth it and seeth the seal of **Usiel** therein let him turne himself to the North-West, and seriously repeat the following Conjuration.

**Usiel** asoys paremon cruato madusyn savepy mavayr realdo chameron ilco paneras thurmo pean elsoty fabelrusyn iltras charson frymasto chelmodyn.<sup>335</sup>

At which the Spirit sent will anon visibly appear unto him and will privately and trustily by word of mouth whisper the secret message sent by him, and bring another back.

The Office of the Spirits of this Hierarchy is to declare treasures hid in the earth and all such things as seem to conduce and belong to the discovery and findeing out of the same. And with all it is here to be understood that if the treasures should be great and belong to any Prince, then some spirit or other may be called out of the Order of four: And if it be our one then then one may be called out of the Order of three. And if it be private and of little value, then one may be called of the order of two, and if it be of very small account, then out of the order of one.<sup>336</sup>

The use thereof in this Art of Steganographia (besides their private Offices) is thus: suppose it be certainly known where some treasures lyeth hid in the earth or elsewhere, and that I have no freind at hand whome I can entrust & confide in to helpe me to bear it away, but that the most faythfullest freind I have is far absent, and yet I have a desire to reveale the buisness to him, and to none else, desireing his ayd & assistance therein, and I

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<sup>335</sup> This deciphers simply as *syc ut supradictum est ita fyat*, “let it be done thus as is said above.”

<sup>336</sup> *i.e.*, those with “10” next to their name in the table. This passage was made obscure by the rearrangement of the table of the servitors of Usiel. As set out in the print edition (and in at least one of the extant 16<sup>th</sup>-century MSS.) the “day” servitors were arranged in two columns with four names, and two with three names; the “night” servitors similarly, but with the characters, already mentioned, splitting each column with two names above and one below. The Dukes arranged in groups of four all have “40” next to their name in the table, those in groups of three “30,” those in groups of two “20” and those on their own “10.”

cannot without danger or fear of discovery committ the matter either to letter or to any other Messenger, then what I must thereby of necessity make use of in this Art &c. And then by observing those rules therein prescribed, without dispute the effects will prove successful enough in all respect.

And note that those two seals or characters of each order sett one against another att the top of the precedent Table serveth to secure or keep the hidden Treasure from any that by an accidentall chance may have an Item thereof and so attempt to take it privately away, ere my own designs or intents can be accomplished.<sup>337</sup>

### Chap. XII.

The 12<sup>th</sup> Mansion is Scituate directly North and by west,<sup>338</sup> where ruleth and resideth the great imperiall Prince **Cabariel**, whose seale is thus figured [⋮•]. He hath under his dominion 50 Diurnall and fifty Nocturnall Presidentiall Spirits, under whom again are many ministering subservient, some whereof are inserted in the following Table, which are sufficient for any one that would practice in the ministry of this imperiall prince **Cabariel** &c.

<i>Diurnal</i>		<i>Nocturnall</i>	
Satifiel —	50.	Mador —	50.
Parius —	50.	Peniel —	50.
Godiel —	50.	Cugiel —	50.
Taros —	50.	Thalbos —	50.
Asoriel —	50.	Orym —	50.
Etymel —	50.	Ladiel —	50.
Clyssan —	50.	Morias —	50.
Eliel —	50.	Pandor —	50.
Aniel —	50.	Casul —	50.
Cuphar —	50.	Dubiel —	50.

[129v] Out of the 50 Diurnall and 50 nocturnall Princes of Cabariel, resideing in this mansion and nominated in this annexed Table, here are 10 of each sett down together with a disting number of some of their severall subservient being as many as is needfull. It is also here to be understood that the Diurnall Spirits are far more benevolent then those of the night for the nocturnall spirits doappear more remissly, wherefore it is requisite to Compell & constrain

them by often repeating the Conjuration being they are so aft to obscure and hide themselves. Whosoever therefore whould at any time converse with or make use of any of the presidential<sup>339</sup> or subservient Spirits of this mansion serving under Cabariel the supreme and imperiall Prince of this Hierachy must first oberseve and performe what in this Art is on his part required, and directing his Actions & contenance to the north & by west, then say the following conjuration.

<sup>337</sup> This final instruction was adapted into the entry for *Usiel* in the *Theurgia-Goëtia*: see “The Second Parte of the Art of King Solomon,” *supra*.

<sup>338</sup> *i.e.*, north-northwest, Lat. *Circius*.

<sup>339</sup> Or possibly “principal”: abbreviated ‘prīäl.’

**Cabariel** onear chameron fruani, parnaton fofiel bryosi magreal fabelrontyn adiel thortay nofruan<sup>340</sup> pean afeiel chusy.

Then if the experiment or Call be in the day the Spirit called upon will immediately appear and will offer themselves in all their Carriadge and deportment with all readiness & humility for (as was sayd before) the spiri of the day are very benevolent and mild of nature. But those of the night are not so for they are more haughty, stubborne, & refractory delaying their Comeing and appearing more slowly therefore they ought to be urged by often repetition of the Conjuration as aforesaid, of which they doe stand in awe, and submission.

Then when they are appeared having every thing in readiness to lay to their charge they may safely be entrusted and so dispatched on their errand.

When the absent person receaveth a letter, openeth it and findeth the seal or character of **Cabariel** thereunto affixed, let him performe what he knoweth to be requisite, and ought to be observed in this Art, and the direct his Actions & Countenance to the north and by west, & with a low voyce say this Conjuration following:

**Cabariel** afiar paermon chiltan amedyn sayr pemedon chulty mouayr sauepor peatha mal frimaston dayr pean cothurno febelrusyn elsoty chelodyn.<sup>341</sup>

After due observation and performance hereof, according to Art the spirit sent will visibly forthwith appear unto him and will faithfully communicate the secret committed to his charge And will as faythfully bring back again any such message as shall be enjoyed & delivered to him with all trust and Secrecy.

The nature and Office of Cabariel and those Spirits resideing in this Mansion & Subservient in this Hierarchy is to forwarne people of dangers, especially freinds, to detect and discover treacheries and all kind of Clandestine designes, plots and such like contrivances as may probably tend to the utter ruine & destruction of some one freind undeservedly. *Ex. gr.* suppose I have a faythfull freind that is far absent whom I wish as well as my selfe, and I knowing that if he returne, snares are layd in his way in one platce or [130r] other by some powerfull rigid, adverse person. I being willing to acquaint my friend herewith but dare not commit my mind to Inck and paper fearing my letter should be intercepted or otherwise miscarry and thereby prove very dangerouse on all

<sup>340</sup> The last letter is unclear: T1606 has *nofruau*, but *nofruan* is probably correct as it would make the hidden text *na funff emgelden funffe* and in the “Caberiel” cipher, per the *Clavis Steganographiae*, the initials of words 6-10, 16-20, &c., spell out the hidden message: so, loosely, “skip five, take five.” The reference to “50 diurnal and 50 nocturnal presidential spirits” is probably also an allusion to this.

<sup>341</sup> There appear to be some errors in this, perpetuated from the print edition: *colthurno* should be *colthurmo* at which point the last three words of the hidden message would become the familiar *ut supradictum est*, but for those to be signifying letters at all (rather than ‘lyaeomlarohroloy’ which does not appear to contain intelligible Latin or German) would mean that there’s one (or possible three) letters two few or many at the start.

hands, neither durst I trust any man therewith, fearing least he should reveal it or the like. Therefore that I may acquaint my friend herewith, and also that wee might both rest secure herein, I make use of this Art whereby all such intended mischeife is prevented and my friend mad sensible of the malignity of such dangerouse persons and their Evill practices thereby knowing how to Order his Affairs.

### Chap. XIII.

The 13<sup>th</sup> Mansion is in that part or point of the Compass Scituate directly north, where resideth and ruleth the potent and imperiall Prince **Raysiel**, whose seale is thus charactered [Wavy line]. He hath under his command 50 Diurnal, and 50 nocturnal Presidentiall Princes who have also under them again many subservitors whose certain number is unknown, but howsoever here are as many nominated in this subsequent Table as is sufficient for any magicall practitioner to know.

<i>Diurnal D.</i>		<i>Nocturnal D.</i>
	♀	
Baciār —	50.	Thariel — 40.
Thoac —	50.	Paras — 40.
Sequel —	50.	Arayl — 40.
Sadar —	50.	Culmar — 40.
Terach —	50. ♀	
Ashiel —	50.	Lazaba — 40.
Ramica —	50.	Aleasy — 40.
Dubarus —	50.	Sebach — 40.
Armena —	50.	Quibda — 40.
Albhadur —	50. ᾳ	
Chanael —	30.	Belsay — 20.
Fursiel —	30.	Morael — 20.
Betasiel —	30. ῃ	Sarach — 20.
Melcha —	30.	Arepach — 20.
Tharas —	30.	Lamas — 10.
Uriel —	30.	Thurcal — 10.

Here is inserted in this adjoyned Table<sup>342</sup> the names of 16 Diurnall and 14 Nocturnall Dukes with the number of their Subservients attending on their Imperiall Prince **Raysiel**, in the Mansion of the North: And note that the Diurnall spirits are by nature very Courteouse and benevolent and come duefully when they are called and are readily submissive and obedient in all things &c. But those of the night are a little obstinate and stubborn nor doe they willingly come when they are called, neither are they easily brought to obedience [and more especially to such who are unskilfull in this Art] in regard they do much abhor and destest the light. And when they doe appear they are many times full of illusive motions and gestures, and usually (as it were) laughing in

the Invocants face &c. unless he so bind them & constrain them in his Conjurations that they durst not disobey him; For they much fear the conjuration to abideing to be so often Conjured as the Diurnall Spirits: And although they are so much in awe when they

<sup>342</sup> The table is once again rearranged from that in the printed edition (T1606 p. 40-41), where the names of the “day” and “night” Dukes were each out in four columns: for the first, by 5, 5, 3, 3, with a planetary symbol at the head of each column; for the second by 4, 4, 3, 3 with *Lamas* and *Thurcal* at the top of the third and fourth columns respectively. This rearrangement was perpetuated into the entry for *Raysiel* in the *Ars Theurgia-Goëtia*, where *Lamas* and *Thurcal* appear at the end of the list of Dukes, suggesting that the compiler of the *Theurgia-Goëtia* used a complete copy of *Trithemius Redivivus* rather than the printed *Steganographia*.

are Constrained, yet for all that they unwillingly obey: but when once they are reduced to Obedience they are very faythfull & trusty in all things &c.

Whosoever therefore would att any time call upon the great Prince Raysiel and any of the subservient Dukes or spirits of this Hyerarchy in the mansion of the North in such matters or affairs as appertain to their offices, Let him first observe & performe those precepts, which in this art is required, & then towards the north say the subsequence Conjunction:

[130v blank]

[The S4 copy of *Trithemius Redivivus* ends abruptly here: there is no catch-word and nothing written on the verso of fol. 130.]

[131r] *The Magick AND Magicall Elements*

OF

*The Seven days of the week,  
with their Appropriate hours,  
and the four Annual Seasons*

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[This is a somewhat free adaptation of the *Heptameron seu elementa magica* of pseudo-Abano.<sup>343</sup> It is possible, but by no means certain (based on considerations of style and recurring phrasing) that this work was redacted by the author(s) of the “Invocation of Angels” text-group and the material on fol. 3-15 of this collection.

It seems clear that the redactor of the following was working from multiple sources. The translation varies sufficiently from Turner’s (even leaving aside rearrangements, expansions and paraphrases) to indicate independent translation from the Latin: on the other hand, there are some questionable readings that indicate the redactor at least consulted the 1655 Turner edition (unlike the texts on fol. 22-29 there is nothing to definitely indicate dependence on T1665).

While the text appears to be in two significantly different hands, one of which appears to be the same as that used for the bulk of the first division of S4 (*i.e.*, Elias Ashmole’s), the materials in the latter hand are not confined to marginalia or intralineal corrections, but frequently intrude into the main written area of the pages, or actually form part of the main text body. In other words, they were written during the scribing of the main text; most likely Ashmole and someone else alternated copying portions of the work, or possibly Ashmole affected a different hand in some sections for an unknown reason.]

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<sup>343</sup> First published under that title in 1559, bound up with the *De occulta philosophia seu de caeremoniis magicis liber quartus*, spuriously attributed to Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim; repeatedly reprinted and translated into European vernaculars (including, but likely not limited to, English, French, and German), it was probably the first ritual of western magic (as contrasted with theoretical works like Agrippa’s *De occulta philosophia*) to actually be printed and hence exercised an immense influence on subsequent Western magical literature.

Following the researches of Peterson (*Elucidation of Necromancy*) and Véronese (“Pietro d’Abano magicien à la Renaissance: le cas de l’*Elucidarius magice*”), the *Heptameron* is now known to be an edited and rearranged version of a late-medieval work with the same pseudoepigraphic author credit, variously known as the *Elucidarium Necromantiae*, *Elucidarius Magice*, *Lucidarium in Arte Magica*, *Lucidarium artis nigromantice* (henceforth cited simply as *Lucidarium*) which was mentioned in a 1508 work of Trithemius and is extant in at least three MS. copies (although one of these, Vatican MS. Reg. Lat. 1115 fol. 97-112, has material in the same hand appended explicitly sourced to the Fourth Book and thus post-dates the 1559 printing).

The *Lucidarium* in turn is synthesised from multiple medieval texts / traditions, including the *Clavicula Salomonis*, the *Liber Iuratus Honorii* and the *Liber Salomonis (Sepher Raziel)*. Versions of the planetary conjurations and the seals of the Angels of the planets appear in the 15<sup>th</sup>-century “Munich Manual of Demonic Magic” (Bayern Staatsbibliotek, MS. Clm 849), which (as already noted) also contains a version of the *Vinculum spirituum* which forms the basis for the “Exorcism of the Aërial Spirits.”

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*Observations to be used on Sunday Die ⊖.*

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Suffumigation for the Sunday, is Red Wheat or Red Sanders.<sup>344</sup>

The Spirits of the Sun, appear for the most part with a thick, full-set Body, mixed (as it were) like Crimson and Gold, whose motion is much like to the lightning of heaven. And are under the North Winde. The particular shapes and forms that these spirits do usually appeare in, are thus: A King riding upon a Lyon, holding a Scepter in his hand. A King Crowned. A Queen with Scepter in her hand. A Bird. A Lyon. A Cock. A Scepter. A Garment of a Gold colour, mixed (as it were) with a yellow & white.

The signe of their Appearance is to be discerned by their provoking of sweate in the Invocant.<sup>345</sup>

The nature of these Spirits is to procure Gold, Jewels, Carbuncles, Riches, Favour, goodwill, to dissolve all Disagreements, to give honours, to give Health or sickness.

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The spirits<sup>346</sup> that rule the Aire on Sunday are **Barkam** or **Varcan** the King; his Servants Ministers or Assistants, are **Bibel**, [131v] **Malova**, **Bueseba**, or **Tus**, **Andas**, **Cynabal**.

The Angels of Sunday, are, **Michael**, **Bardiel** (or **Dardiel**), **Huratapel**.

The Angels of the fourth Heaven, ruling on Sunday, which may be called upon from the four parts, or points of the compass, to Officiate according to their Offices, are as followeth:

<i>East:</i>	<i>West:</i>	<i>North:</i>	<i>South:</i>
<b>Samael.</b>	<b>Anael.</b>	<b>Aiel.</b>	<b>Habudiel.</b>
<b>Baciel</b>	<b>Pabel.</b>	<b>Aniel.</b>	<b>Machasiel.</b>
<b>Atel.</b>	<b>Istael.</b>	<b>Masgabriel.</b>	<b>Charsiel.</b>
<b>Fabriel or Gabriel.</b>	<b>Buchat.</b>	<b>Sabriel or Sapiel.</b>	<b>Uriel.</b>
<b>Vionatraba.</b>	<b>Suceratos.</b>	<b>Malniel, or &lt;illegible&gt;</b>	<b>Naromiel.</b>
	<b>Capabel.</b>		

<sup>344</sup> T1655 mistranslated *Sandalum rubeum* as “Red Wheat”; it was corrected to “Red Sanders” in T1665. Generally, though, this text does not seem to depend on Turner; even leaving aside deliberate paraphrases and additions, the text has enough variation to make independent translation from the Latin credible.

<sup>345</sup> This paraphrase and the preceding are drawn from the section on the forms familiar to the spirits of the Sun in the *Fourth Book* of pseudo-Agrrippa.

<sup>346</sup> The Latin *Heptameron* refers to the “Kings” of the seven days and their “Ministers” as *Angeli*; however, in the *Lucidarium* they are generally referred to as *spiritus*.

*Names of the Angells governing the Spring Season, for the day & hour of Sol, ☽.*<sup>347</sup>

[[**Yayn**]], **Michael**, **Mishael**, **Dardiel**,<sup>348</sup> **Huratapel**, **Talvi**, **Caracasa**, [[**Core**, **Amatiel**, **Commissoros**, **Spugliguel**, **Amadai**,]] **Abraim**,<sup>349</sup> [[**Agusita**]], **Varcan**<sup>350</sup> **Rex**, **Tus**, **Andas**, **Cynabal**.<sup>351</sup>

*Names of the Angells governing the Summer Season, for the day & hour of Sol, ☽.*

**Yayn**, **Mishael**, **Michael**, **Dardiel**, **Huratpel**, **Casamaran**, **Gargatel**, **Tariel**, [[**Gavel**, **Tubiel**, **Festatui**, **Athemay**, **Armatas**]] **Varcan Rex**; **Tus**, **Andas**, **Cynabal**.

*Names of the Angells governing the Autumnall Season, for the day & hour [132r] of Sol, ☽.*

**Yayn**, **Michael**, **Michael**,<sup>352</sup> **Dardiel**, **Huratapel**, **Ardarael**, **Taraquam**, **Guabrael**, **Torquaret**, **Tabianara**, **Abragini**, **Melasignais**, **Varcan Rex**, **Tus**, **Andas**, **Cynabal**.

*Names of the Angells governing the Winter Season, for the day & hour of Sol, ☽.*

**Yayn**, **Michael**, **Michael**,<sup>353</sup> **Dardiel**, **Huratapel**, **Ardarael**, **Parlas**, **Amabael**, **Ctarari**, **Altarib**, **Geremiah**, **Commutaff**, **Affaterim**, **Varcan Rex**, **Tus**, **Andas**, **Cynabal**.

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These Angells are to be called upon from the four Angles, East West South & North, for their benevolent Ayd, & Assistance: then towards the East say unto them:

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O ye Benign Angels afforesaid, I earnestly Adjure, and Entreat you by the seat of Adonay, by Agios, Otheos, Iskyros, Athanatos, Paracletus, Alpha and Omega, and by these three secret names, Agla, On, Tetragrammaton, be ye furtherers of my petition, and assist me in my present Affaires, and full-fill what at this time I require.

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<sup>347</sup> These lists appear to be worked out as follows: the name of the first “magical hour” of the day, the main Angel of the day, the three Angels of the day (the first of whom is the same as the previous), then the full list of names for the season from the first part of the *Heptameron* (name of the season, Angels of the season, “head of the sign,” and the names of the Earth, Sun and Moon for the season); then the “King,” the angel or spirit of the Air ruling the day, and lastly his ministers. Some names (flagged by double square brackets) were unreadable in the image I’m working from and have been restored by cross-referencing from the other lists in this text or in the printed *Heptameron*. The “magical hours” *Tanic*, *Thanu* and *Aglo* (to use the orthography in the present text) are also ascribed to the planet of their particular day.

These sets of names derive from the *Liber Iuratus Honorii* and *Liber Salomonis / Sepher Raziel*, both of which found their own way into English magical MS. traditions, and hence it is entirely credible that the redactor or a copyist of the present text had a MS. source in which they significantly varied from the printed *Heptameron*, which was the source for the variants.

<sup>348</sup> Note at side: “or Bardiel.”

<sup>349</sup> Name written *sup. lin.* above a cancelled and unreadable word.

<sup>350</sup> Note at side: “or Barcan.”

<sup>351</sup> Note at side: “or Bibel, Malolva, Bueseiba.”

<sup>352</sup> Name written *sup. lin.*, *sec. man.*

<sup>353</sup> Name written *sup. lin.*, *sec. man.*

*The Invocation for Sunday.*

---

I adjure and bind it by your Holy and powerfull Angels, by the Holy names of God, + Adonay + Eye + Eye + Eye + who was, is, and is to come; + Eye + Abraye And in the name of + Saday + Cados + Cados + Cados + who sitteth on high, above the Cherubims, and by the Omnipotent and and high God, Exalted above all the Heavens + Eye + Saraye + the first beginning, that created the world, the Heavens and the Earth, the sea, and all things that are in them, in the first day, and confirmed [132v] them by his holy names: And by the names of all the Angells that Govern in the fourth Sphear, and that serve before **Salamia**,<sup>354</sup> the great and honoured Angel, And by the name of the Star which is the Sun, and by the greate name of the Everliving God, Jehovah, By all afforesaid, I urgently invoke, and earnestly entreat Thee; O thou great and glorious Angel **Michael**, who art made Governour of this day and by the name Adonay, the God of Israel, to Endeavour for me, and to be friendly unto me, and doe for me; as for the Servant of [the] Highest &c.<sup>355</sup>

Here make known your Petitions, and for what Cause this Invocation is made.

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<sup>354</sup> Note at side of text: "Some have called this Angels name different from this heere of Abano, viz'. *Salaman*."

<sup>355</sup> In addition to some slight paraphrases and deliberate changes, this has enough variation with Turner's translation (T1665) of the conjuration of Sunday to make independent translation plausible. The final clause, "be friendly unto me, and do for me as for [the] servant of the Highest," suggests certain recurring expressions in the "Invocation of Angels" texts, which in turn borrows phrasing from the English of Dee's *Claves Angelicæ*.

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*Observations on Monday ☽*

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The Suffumigation for Monday is Aloes.

The spirits of the Moon appear for the most part in a great, full and Soft body, of a Flegmatick colour, much like unto a dark Cloud, The Eyes Red, Smooth, and full of water, the head blad, with Teeth like Beares Teeth, there motion is like a Tempest at sea, or like as unto the roaring of Watters, And are under the West Winde: The particular shapes that the spirits of the Moon doe usually appear in, are, A King with a Bow and Arrowes, riding on a doe; A little Boy; A woman that is an Huntress, with a bow and Arrowes, A Cow a little doe. A Goose. A Creature heaving many Feet. [or many Feet]<sup>356</sup> An Arrow. A green, or white Garment.

The signe of their Appearance, is, A showr of Raine nere the Circle, The nature of these Angels is to give silver To move Things out of one place into another. To give swift horses And to tell the present and past Secrets of persons.

The Spirits that ruleth the Ayr on Monday, are **Arcan**<sup>357</sup> Rex, his servants, ministers, or Assistants, are **Bylet, Misabu, Abuzha.**<sup>358</sup>

The Angels of Munday, are **Gabriel, Michael, Samael.**

[132r] The Angels of the first Heaven, ruling on Monday, which may be called upon from the 4 Angles,

<i>East:</i>	<i>West:</i>	<i>North:</i>	<i>South:</i>
<b>Gabril.</b>	<b>Sachiel.</b>	<b>Mael.</b>	<b>Curaniel.</b>
<b>Gabrael.</b>	<b>Zaniel.</b>	<b>Vuael.</b>	<b>Dabriel.</b>
<b>Madiel.</b>	<b>Habaniel.</b>	<b>Valnu.</b>	<b>Darquiel.</b>
<b>Deamiel.</b>	<b>Bachanael.</b>	<b>Balael.</b>	<b>Hanum.</b> <sup>359</sup>
<b>Ianael.</b>	<b>Corabiel.</b>	<b>Balaw.</b>	<b>Anayl.</b> <sup>360</sup>
		<b>Humastraw.</b>	<b>Vetuel.</b>

*Names of the Angels, Governing the Spring Season, for the day & Hour of Luna ☽*

**Yayn, Gabriel, Gabriel, Michael, Samael, Talui, Caracasa, Core, Amatiel, Comissoros, Spugliguel, Amaidai, Abraim, Agusita, Arcan Rex, Bilet, Missabu, Abuzaha.**<sup>361</sup>

<sup>356</sup> The duplicated words are in square brackets and inline in the MS.

<sup>357</sup> Note at side: "Or *Harkam.*"

<sup>358</sup> Note at side: "Or, *Bylether, Byleth, Myka, Acuteba.*"

<sup>359</sup> Note at side: "or *Harnim.*"

<sup>360</sup> Note at side: "or *Anael.*"

<sup>361</sup> A note at the side of this list gives the variants of the last four names, already mentioned.

*Names of the Angels, Governing the Summer Season, for the day & Hour of Luna ☽*

**Yayn, Gabriel, Gabriel, Michael, Samael, Casmaran, Gargatel, Tariel, Gavel, Tubiel, Festatai, Athemai, Armatus, Arcan Rex, Bilet, Missabu, Abuzaha.**

*Names of the Angels, Governing the Autumnall Season, for the day & Hour of Luna ☽*

**Yayn, Gabriel, Gabriel, Michael, Samael, Ardarael, Tarquam, Guabrael, Tarquarets, Raabianara, Abragini, Matasignais,<sup>362</sup> Arcan Rex, Bylet, Missabu, Abuzaha.**

*Names of the Angels, Governing the Winter Season, for the day & Hour of Luna ☽*

**Yayn, Gabriel, Gabriel, Michael, Samael, Farlas, Amabael, Cterari, Altarib, Geremiah, Commutaff, Affeterim, Arcan Rex, Bylet, Missabu, Abuzaha.**

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These Angels are to be called upon from the four Angles in the severall seasons of the year, by the Invocant, according as it is specified in the following Introduction to the use of this Treatise. And then afterwards towards the East, saying as followeth.

O you benevolent Angels aforesaid, I earnestly Adjure and intreat you, by the Seat of Adonai, by Agios, Otheos, Iskyros, Athanatos, Paracletos, Alpha, & Omega, & by these three secret names, Agla, on, Tetragrammaton, to assist me in my present affaires, & by furtherers of my petition, and fullfill what at this time I desire.

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### *The Invocation for Monday.*

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I Conjure and bind it by your power, O ye mighty & good Angels in the names of + Adonay + Adonay + Adonay + Eye + Eye + Eye + Cados + Cados + Achim + Achim + Achim + Ia + Ia + the + strong + Iah + Who appeareth in mount Sinai with the Glorification of King Adonay + Saday + Zebaoth + Athanay + Ia + Ia + Ia + Marinata Abin + Ieja + who Created the seas, Lakes, & waters in the second day, who placeth some above the heavens, some in the Earth, who placed the sea on high by his name, and gave it bounds which it should not pass, and by the names of the Angels that rule in the lowest spheare, that serv **Orphaniel** that great Honoured and excellent Angel, and by the name of the star which is the **Moon**, By all aforesaid, I Humbly imploie, and most earnestly entreat thee, O thou Glorious & Cœlestiall Angell of the Lord God, **Gabriel**, who art constituted & appointed to be the Goverour of this day, to endeavour for me, and to be friendly unto me, &c.<sup>363</sup>

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<sup>362</sup> The names for Winter were originally written in error but have been cancelled, and these names written in *sup. lin.*

<sup>363</sup> *i.e.*, continue with the concluding phrasing of the conjuration of Sunday, then state your cause or business, and for what reason you're making the conjuration.

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[134r] *Observations on Tuesday ♂*

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Suffumigation for Tuesday is Pepper.

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The Spirits of Mars Appeare in a tall Body, & for a long time with a Cholerick and ugly Visage, of a Swarthy, brown reddish coulered Countenance, with Hearts horns and Griphons Feet: They will roare and bellow like madd Bulls. Their motion is like burning Fire. They are subject to the East Winde.

The particular forms that the Spirit of Mars appear in, are, Armed King riding upon a wolf, A man Armed, A woman holding a Buckler upon her thigh, a Hee-Goate, a Horse, A Hart with many heads.<sup>364</sup> A Cheeslip.<sup>365</sup> A red Wolen Garment.<sup>366</sup>

The signe of their appearance is Thunder and lightning, & a Fire before the Circle.

The nature of these Spirits is to make wars, to cause mortallitys, Slaughter and Combustions, and by these meanes, at certain times to deliver over Souldiers to Sickeness, Health, or Death.

---

The Spirits that rule the Aijr on Tuesday, are **Samax**<sup>367</sup> Rex, with his Assistance, or Minsters, **Carmax, Ismoli, [[Paffran.]]**<sup>368</sup>

The Angels on Tusday, are:

<i>East:</i>	<i>West:</i>	<i>North:</i>	<i>South:</i>
<b>Friagne.</b>	<b>Lama.</b>	<b>Rahumel.</b>	<b>Sacriel.</b>
<b>Guael.</b>	<b>Astramy.</b>	<b>Hyniel.</b>	<b>Ianiel.</b>
<b>Damael.</b>	<b>Lobquin</b> <sup>369</sup>	<b>Rayel.</b>	<b>Galdele.</b>
<b>Calzas.</b>	<b>Soncas.</b>	<b>Seraphiel.</b>	<b>Osiel.</b>
<b>Arragon.</b>	<b>Iaxel.</b>	<b>Mathiel.</b>	<b>Vianuel.</b>
	<b>Isael.</b>	<b>Fraciel.</b>	<b>Zaliel.</b>
	<b>Iriel.</b>		

<sup>364</sup> In the copy of the Fourth Book in the “Beringos Fratres” editions of Agrippa’s *Opera, corvus* (crow) in the list of forms familiar to the spirits of Mars was misprinted *cervus* (stag). This was here further put together with *multiceps*, late Latin for “many-headed” (now the scientific name for various tapeworm species), which in pseudo-Agrippa’s list was a distinct point, coming at the end of the list.

<sup>365</sup> Obsolete English word for the common woodlouse; a questionable rendering by Turner of *multiceps*.

<sup>366</sup> In the Latin “*Rubra vestis*” (red garments) and “*Lana*” (wool) were distinct points.

<sup>367</sup> Note at side: “or *Ianimay*.”

<sup>368</sup> Note at side: “or *Carmab, Harmael, Palframe*.”

<sup>369</sup> Apparently *Lobquin* in S4, with a barely-legible variant name next to it, possibly *Lobquoni*.

[134v] *Names of the Angels, Governing the Spring Season, for the day & Hour of Mars ♂*

**Yayn, Samael, Samael, Satael, Amabiel, Talui, Caracasa, Core, Amatiel, Comissoros, Spugliguel, Amaidai, [Aбраим,] Agusita, Samax Rex, Carex, Ismolie, Paffran.**<sup>370</sup>

*Names of the Angels, Governing the Summer Season, for the day & Hour of Mars ♂*

**Yayn, Samael, Samael, Satael, Amabiel, Casmaran, Gargatel, Tariel, Gavel, Tubiel, Festatai, Athemai, Armatus, Samax Rex, Carex, Ismolie, Paffran.**

*Names of the Angels, Governing the Autumnal Season, for the day & Hour of Mars ♂*

**Yayn, Samael, Samael, Satael, Amabiel, Ardarael, Tarquam, Guabrael, Tarquarets, Raabianara, Abragini, Matasignais, Samax Rex, Carex, Ismolie, Paffran.**

*Names of the Angels, Governing the Winter Season, for the day & Hour of Mars ♂*

**Yayn, Samael, Samael, Satael, Amabiel, Farlas, Amabael, Cterari, Altarib, Geremiah, Commutaff, Affeterim, Samax Rex, Carex, Ismolie, Paffran.**

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Then proceed as followeth in Monday &c.

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### *The Invocation for Tuesday.*

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I Conjure and bind it by you, O ye Mighty and Holy Angels, by the names ♫ Ya ♫ Ya ♫ Ya ♫ He ♫ He ♫ He ♫ Va ♫ Hy ♫ Hy ♫ Hy ♫ Ha ♫ Ha ♫ Va ♫ Va ♫ Va ♫ An ♫ An ♫ Aie ♫ Aie ♫ Aije ♫ and ♫ Ay ♫ Elibra ♫ Elohim ♫ Elohim ♫ and in & through the name of the high God, who made the watter appear dry Land, and called it Earth, and brought out of it trees and Herbs and Established it by his Pretious, Honoured & Holy name, And by the Angels that [135r] rule in the fift Spheare, that serve **Acimay**, the great, mighty, and Powerfull Angel, And by the Star whose name is called **Mars**. By all afforesaide, I humbly Implore, and most earnestly and urgently intreat & adjure you **Samael**, who art appointed from the beginning of time to be the Governour of this day and by the name ♫ Adonay ♫ the true and ever living God, that thou endeavour for me, and be friendly unto me &c.

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<sup>370</sup> As before, a note at the side of this list gives the variants of the last four names, already mentioned.

## *Observations on Wednesday, ♀*

Suffumigation for Wednesday is Mastick.

The Spirits of Mercury Appear for the most part in Bodyes of a middle Stature, Cold and moist, fair and affable of Speech, In shape and forme like unto an Armed man, of a bright and Clear Colour. Their motion is like unto silver coloured Clouds. They are under the south-west winde.

The particular forms that the spirits of Mercury, doe usaly appear in, are, A King riding upon a Bear, A fair young man, A woman holding Heaven,<sup>371</sup> or a Distaffe; A dog, A Bear, A magpie, A wand, A Staffe, A Garment of sundery chanble<sup>372</sup> Colours.

The signe of there Appearance is, That they strike a Fear & horror into the invocant.

The nature of these Spirits, are to give all mettals, and all Earthy things to reveale things present past and to come; to Appease Judges to give victories in Battel, to repaire and teach all Lost Sciences and experiments, to Change Bodyes mixed of elements one into another, to bring Infirmities or Health, to help the poore; and cast down the High ones, to Open seales, to bind or loose spirits, to open Lockes or Bolts, These spirits are saide to doe the acctions of others and not of their [135v] own power but by cuning &c.

The Spirits that rule the Ayre on Wednesday, are **Mediat**, or **Modiat**<sup>373</sup> Rex; with his Assistents or Ministers, **Suquinos** & **Sallales**.<sup>374</sup>

The Angels of Wednesday are, **Raphael**, [[**Miel**, **Saraphiel**]]

Angels of the second heaven, that may be Called upon from the four Angles on ♀ are:

<i>East:</i>	<i>West:</i>	<i>North:</i>	<i>South:</i>
<b>Mathlai.</b>	<b>Ierescue.</b> <sup>*375</sup>	<b>Thiel.</b>	<b>Milliel.</b>
<b>Tarmiel.</b>	<b>Mitatron.</b>	<b>Rael.</b>	<b>Melapa.</b>
<b>Baraborat.</b>	* <i>Seale</i> 	<b>Iariahel.</b> <b>Venahel.</b> <b>Velel.</b> <b>Abuiori.</b> <b>Ucirnuel.</b>	<b>Babel.</b> <b>Laquel, or Caluel.</b> <sup>376</sup>

<sup>371</sup> *Mulier colum tenens*; the double reading derives from confusing *colus -i* (a distaff) with *cælum -i* (heaven).

<sup>372</sup> i.e., “changeable” (the Latin has *Vestis versicolor*).

<sup>373</sup> This double reading appears in the printed *Heptameron*. A note at the side of the text adds “or *Sabba*.”

<sup>374</sup> A note at the side of the text adds, “or *Hancy*, *Yron*, *Abedio*.”

<sup>375</sup> The “Seale” of *Ierescue* is in the margin in the MS.

<sup>376</sup> Originally three different angels, not one with two different names: *Caluël*, *Luël*, *Laquël* appear among the Southern angels of Wednesday in the Vadian *Lucidarium*; in the printed *Heptameron*, the second is *Vël* (i.e. *Uël*) which then got turned into “vel” and read as the Latin “or.”

*Names of the Angels, Governing the Spring Season, for the day & Hour of Mercury ♀*

**Yayn, Raphael, Raphiel, Miel, Saraphiel, Talui, Caracasa, Core, Amatiel, Comissoros, Spugliguel, Amaidai, Abraim, Agusita, Mediat or Modiat Rex, Suquinos, Salleles.**<sup>377</sup>

*Names of the Angels, Governing the Summer Season, for the day & Hour of Mercury ♀*

**Yayn, Raphael, Raphiel, Miel, Saraphiel, Casmaran, Gargatel, Tariel, Gavel, Tubiel, Festatai, Athemay, Armatus, Mediat or Modiat Rex, Suquinos, Salleles.**

*Names of the Angels, Governing the Autumnal Season, for the day & Hour of Mercury ♀*

**Yayn, Raphael, Raphiel, Miel, Saraphiel, Ardarael, Tarquam, Guabrael, Tarquarets, Raabianara, Abragini, Matasignais, Mediat or Modiat Rex, Suquinos, Salleles.**

[136r] *Names of the Angels, Governing the Winter Season, for the day & Hour of Mercury ♀*

**Yayn, Raphael, Raphiel, Miel, Saraphiel, Farlas, Amabael, Cterari, Altarib, Geremiah, Commutaff, Affeterim, Mediat or Modiat Rex, Suquinos, Salleles.**

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### *The Invocation for Wednesday.*

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I Conjure and bind it by your Power, O ye mighty, Holy and Potent Angels in the name of the Great, High Immortal, and most fearfull + Iah + Adonay + Elohim + Saday + Saday + Saday + Eie + Eie + Eie + Asarie + Asarie + and in the name of + Adonay + the god of Israel, whwo Created the Great Lights to distinguish the day from the night, and by the names of all the Angels Serving in the second Spheare, before **Tetra**, the great, powerfull, and mighty Angel, and by the name of the star **Mercury**, By all aforesaid; I humbly implose, and most earnestly and urgently entreat and adjure you o thou great and benevolent Angel **Raphael**, who art from the beginning of time by the preordinate decree of (of) the Highest, constituted and appointed Governour of this day, and by the holy name which was written in the Brow of Aron, the Priest of the most high Creatour, and by the name of the seal,<sup>378</sup> of the Creatures having six feet,<sup>379</sup> &c., That thou endeavoure for me:

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<sup>377</sup> As usual, a note at the side of this list gives the variants of the last three names, already mentioned.

<sup>378</sup> *sic*, s.b. “seat” (for *sedis*). T1665, while making that mistake twice in the “Exorcism of the Spirits of the Air” has the correct reading here,

<sup>379</sup> *sic*, s.b. “wings” (*alas*). Still not as bad as rendering *per nomen sedis Animalium, habentium senas alas* “by the name and place of Ammalium” (as happened in the 1783 reprint “with great improvements” of Turner’s translations, further garbled into “name and place of Ammaluim” in Francis Barret’s *The Magus*, and “corrected” to “name and place of Animalium” in Stephen Skinner’s 2005 re-set).

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*Observations on Thursday, 2*

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Suffumigation for Thursday is Saffron.

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The Spirits of Jupiter Appear for the most part in Bodyes of a Sanguine & Cholderick Complexion, of a middle Stature, Strange in motion, but a milde Aspect or Countenance, familiar and gentle of speech, and of an Iron Coulor, their motion is like to flashings of lightning [136v] with Thunder. They are under the South winde.

The particular forms that the Spirits of Jupiter doe usually appear in are; A King riding upon a Hart with a Sword drawn. A man in a long Robe, wearing a miter. A maide with a Crowne of Bayes adorned with Flowers. A Bull, A Hart, A Peacock. A Box-Tree. A Blew Garments.

The signe of their Appearance, will be men about the Circle, who will seem to be devoured of Lyons.

The nature of these Spirits, is, to obtaine the Love of women, to raise mirth and Joyfullness, to pacifie Enemies, and appease Contentions, to heale the weake, and weaken the whole, to bring or carry away.

The spirits that rule the Ayr on Thursday, are **Suth Rex**, his Misters or Assistants, **Maguth, Gutrix**.<sup>380</sup>

The Angels of Thursday, are **Sachiel, Castiel, Asasiel**.

Now because there are no Angels found beyond the fift Sphear, therefore the Invocant shall say this following Oration in the four Angles, &c.:—

O Almighty, most mercifull, and Immortal God of Host, Honoured and Worshipped through all Ages of the world, I humbly beseech thee, O Heavenly Father, that I may accomplish and fullfill this day that which I beg at thy mercyfull hands, even this my worke, and this my Labour, and that I may perfectly understand and effect it, O thou Omnipotent Creator of Heaven and Earth, who liveth and Reigneth World without end.<sup>381</sup>

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*Names of the Angels, Governing the Spring Season, for the day & Hour of Jupiter 2*

**Yayn, Sachiel, Sachiel, Castiel, Asasiel, Talui, Caracasa, Core, Amatiel, Comissoros, Spugliguel, Amaidai, Abraim, Agusita, Suth Rex, Maguth, Gutrix.**<sup>382</sup>

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<sup>380</sup> *Gutriz* in the printed Latin *Heptameron*; *Gutrix* in Turner. A note at the side adds, “or *Genthren, Genthem*.”

<sup>381</sup> The *Heptameron*, deriving probably from the *Liber Salomonis (Cephar Raziel)*, lib. vi., has four shorter fragment of prayers to be said to the quarters in turn: this is combined and slightly paraphrased from them.

<sup>382</sup> As usual, a note at the side of this list gives the variants of the last names, already mentioned.

*Names of the Angels, Governing the Summer Season, for the day & Hour of Jupiter 2*

**Yayn, Sachiel, Sachiel, Castiel, Asasiel, Casmaran, Gargatel, Tariel, Gavel, Tubiel, Festatai, Athemay, Armatus, Suth Rex, Maguth, Gutrix.**

[137r] *Names of the Angels, Governing the Autumnal Season, for the day & Hour of Jupiter 2*

**Yayn, Sachiel, Sachiel, Castiel, Asasiel, Ardarael, Tarquam, Guabrael, Tarquarets, Raabianara, Abragini, Matasignais, Suth Rex, Maguth, Gutrix.**

*Names of the Angels, Governing the Winter Season, for the day & Hour of Jupiter 2*

**Yayn, Sachiel, Sachiel, Castiel, Asasiel, Farlas, Amabael, Cterari, Altarib, Geremiah, Commutaff, Affeterim, Suth Rex, Maguth, Gutrix.**

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Then turning to the East, say the Oration following

O ye<sup>383</sup> Benevolent Angels aforesaid; I earnestly Entreat and adjure you, by the<sup>384</sup> seate of Adonay, by Agios, Otheos, Iskyros, Athanatos, Paracletos, Alpha and Omega, and by these three secrete names, Agla, On, Tetragrammaton, to assist me in my present affaires, and by furtherers of my Petition, and fulfill what at this time I require.

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### *The Invocation for Thursday.*

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I Conjure and bind it by your Power, O you Holy Angels, by the names + Cados + Cados + Cados + Echerie<sup>385</sup> + Echerie + Echerie + Halim + Fortim + Iah + the Strong founder of Ages + Cantime + Iaimij + Calbat + Sabbir + Berifai + Alnaim + and by the name + Adonai + who Created fishes, and Creeping things<sup>386</sup> in the watters, and Birds upon the Face of the Earth, flying towards the Heavens in the fift day, and by the holy great and Powerfull Prince of Angels, and by the Star which is called **Jupiter**, and by the name + Adonay + the high God, Creator of all things. By all afforesaide; I implore, and most earnestly and importunately entreat and adjure thee, O thou great Angel **Sachiel**, who art by the preordinate decree of the Highest, appointed to be governour of this day, that thou Endeavour for me, and be friendly unto me; &c.

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<sup>383</sup> “mighty” was originally written here, but is heavily cancelled.

<sup>384</sup> “following” was originally written after “the” but is heavily cancelled.

<sup>385</sup> *Eschereie* in all printed *Heptameron* versions including T1655, T1665.

<sup>386</sup> “upon the earth” written after “things” but heavily cancelled.

## *Observations on Friday, ♀*

Suffumigation for Friday is Costus or Pepperwort.

The Spirits of Venus, appear for the most part in Bodyes of a middle Stature, a Lovely and pleasant Countenance; of white or greenish Coulour, gilded over on the upper part, their motion is (as it wear) a Clear Star, And are under the West Winde.

The particular forms that the spirits of Venus doe usually appear in, are, a [137v] King on a Camell, having a Scepter in his hand. A faire maid wreathed, and beautifully dressed. A maiden naked. A Goat. A Camell, A dove: Flower of the Herb Savine. A white or green Garment.

The Signe of their Appearance will be maidens playing about the Circle, which will provoke and Stir up the Invocant.

The nature of these spirits is, To give Silver, To make men apt and prone to Lechery,<sup>387</sup> to appease Enemyes by Luxury. To make Marages. To stir up men to the Love of women. To cause; or take away Infirmityes. And to doe all things that have motion.<sup>388</sup>

The Angels that rule the Ayr on Friday, are, **Sarabotes**<sup>389</sup> Rex; his Ministers, or assistants, **Amabiel, Aba, Abalidoth, Flaef.**<sup>390</sup>

The Angels of Friday, are; **Anael, Rachiel, Sachiel.**

Angels of the third Heaven, ruling on Friday, which are to [be] called upon from the four Angles, are:

<i>East:</i>	<i>West:</i>	<i>North:</i>	<i>South:</i>
<b>Serchiel.</b>	<b>Tariel.</b>	<b>Peniel.</b>	<b>Porna.</b>
<b>Chedusitaniel.</b>	<b>Coniel.</b>	<b>Penael.</b>	<b>Sachiel.</b>
<b>Chorat.</b>	<b>Rabiel.</b>	<b>Penat.</b>	<b>Chermiel.</b>
<b>Tamael.</b>	<b>Kadiel.</b> <sup>391</sup>	<b>Raphael.</b>	<b>Sameal, or Sanael.</b>
<b>Tenaciel.</b>	<b>Maltiel.</b>	<b>Raniel, or Ramael.</b>	<b>Santaniel.</b>
	<b>Huphatiel.</b>	<b>Doremiel.</b>	<b>Famiel.</b>

<sup>387</sup> "Lewdry" originally written, corrected *sup. lin.*

<sup>388</sup> *omnia quæ habent motum, facere.*

<sup>389</sup> Note at side: "Or Sarabotres."

<sup>390</sup> Note at side: "Or Nasar, Manasa."

<sup>391</sup> *Kadie* in the printed Latin and English *Heptameron*.

*Names of the Angels, Governing the Spring Season, for the day & Hour of Venus ♀*

**Yayn, Anael, Anael, Rachiel, Sachiel, Talui, Caracasa, Core, Amatiel, Comissoros, Spugliguel, Amaidai, Abraim, Agusita, Sarabotes Rex, Amabiel, Aba, Abalidoth, Flaef.**<sup>392</sup>

*Names of the Angels, Governing the Summer Season, for the day & Hour of Venus ♀*

**Yayn, Anael, Anael, Rachiel, Sachiel, Casmaran, Gargatel, Tariel, Gavel, Tubiel, Festatai, Athemay, Armatus, Sarabotes Rex, Amabiel, Aba, Abalidoth, Flaef.**

*Names of the Angels, Governing the Atumnall Season, for the day & Hour of Venus ♀*

**Yayn, Anael, Anael, Rachiel, Sachiel, Ardrael, Tarquam, Guabrael, Tarquarets, Raabianara, Abragini, Matasignais, Sarabotes Rex, Amabiel, Aba, Abalidoth, Flaef.**

[138r] *Names of the Angels, Governing the Winter Season, for the day & Hour of Venus ♀*

**Yayn, Anael, Anael, Rachiel, Sachiel, Farlas, Amabael, Cterari, Altarib, Geremiah, Commutaff, Affeterim, Sarabotes Rex, Amabiel, Aba, Abalidoth, Flaef.**

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### *The Invocation for Friday.*

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I Conjure and bind it by you O ye mighty and Powerfull angels Coelestiall, in the names  
 + On + Hay + El + Ia + Ie + Adonay + Sadai + and in the name of + Saday + who  
 Created the four-footed Beasts and Creatures, creeping things and man in the Sixt day &  
 gave power to **Adam** over all Creatures (wherefore blessed by the name of the Creator in  
 his place;) and in the names of the Angels serving in the third sphear, before **Dagael**, the  
 great, mighty & powerfull Angel of the Highest, and by the name of the Star which is  
 called **Venus**. By all afforesaid, I humbly implore, and most earnestly & urgently &  
 urgently entreat and adjure you, O ye benign Angel **Anael**, who art by the primitive  
 decess of God, appointed to be Governour of this day, That thou endeavour for me; and  
 be friendly unto me; &c.

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<sup>392</sup> As usual, a note at the side of this list gives the variants of the last names, already mentioned.

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*Observations on Saturday, ♄*

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Suffumigation for Saturday is Sulphur.

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The Spirits of Saturn appear for the most part in Bodyes of a tall thin, lean slender corporature, of an angry Countenance; They have four faces, one, before, and another behind in the head, and one upon each knee; all of them Beaked or nosed like an Eagle; they are of a Shining black Colour, Their motion is as the moving of the Winde; or much like to an Earth-quake. They are under the Sout-west Winde.

The particular forms that the Spirits of Saturn, doe usually appear in, are; A King with a Beard, riding on a Dragon. An Old man with a long Beard, having a Sickle in his right hand, and a Scepter of Juniper in his left hand. An old woman leaning upon a stick. A Juniper-Tree: A Crow,<sup>393</sup> black Garments.

The signe of their Appearance will be; white Earth, whiter than any Chalk.

The propertyes of these Spirits, is to sow Discords and Hatred, to plant evill [138v] thoughts in the mindes of men, to give Lead at their pleasure; to kill and slay people; to lame or hurt any joint or member of the Body.

The Angels that rule the Ayr on Saturday are; **Maimon Rex**; his Assistant; **Abumalith**,<sup>394</sup> **Assaibi, Balidet**.

The Angels of Saterday are; **Cassiel**,<sup>395</sup> **Machatan, Uriel**.

Now because there are no Angels found beyond the fift Sphear, to rule the Ayr (as is Specified before in the observations of Thursday) therefore the Invocant shall say this Oration following in the four Angles, &c.

O Almighty, Immortall, Incomprehensible, most mercyfull, Bountifull and heavenly God of Host, which art without Beginning or Ending, Honoured and feared through all Ages, I humbly beseech thee; O Lord that I may accomplish and fullfill this day, that which I beg at thy mercifull Hands, even this my worke; and this my Labour, and that I may perfectly understand and effect it; through Thee, O Thou Omnipotent Creator of Heaven and Earth, who liveth and Reigneth World without End.

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<sup>393</sup> Nothing in the Latin reasonably gives “Crow”; as mentioned, *Corvus* was originally listed under the forms of the spirits of Mars, though later misprinted. The Latin has *Rex barbatus, draconem equitans; Senex barbatus; Mulier vetula, baculo innixa; Porcus; Draco; Bubo; Vestis nigra; Falx; Iuniperus.*

<sup>394</sup> Note at side: “or *Albeve, Malik.*”

<sup>395</sup> Also appears as *Caphriel, Cafriel, Cafziel, &c.* Possibly at some point *fr* or *fz* got misread / mis-copied as  $\beta$ , the German double “s” ligature, or *vice versa*.

*Names of the Angels, Governing the Spring Season, for the day & Hour of Saturn* ȏ

**Yayn, Cassiel, Cassiel, Machatan, Uriel, Talui, Caracasa, Core, Amatiel, Comissoros, Spugliguel, Amaidai, Abraim, Agusita, Maimon Rex, Abumalith, Assaibi, Balidet.**<sup>396</sup>

*Names of the Angels, Governing the Summer Season, for the day & Hour of Saturn* ȏ

**Yayn, Cassiel, Cassiel, Machatan, Uriel, Casmaran, Gargatel, Tariel, Gavel, Tubiel, Festatai, Athemay, Armatus, Maimon Rex, Abumalith, Assaibi, Balidet.**

*Names of the Angels, Governing the Atumnall Season, for the day & Hour of Saturn* ȏ

**Yayn, Cassiel, Cassiel, Machatan, Uriel, Ardarael, Tarquam, Guabrael, Tarquarets, Raabianara, Abragini, Matasignais, Maimon Rex, Abumalith, Assaibi, Balidet.**

*Names of the Angels, Governing the Winter Season, for the day & Hour of Saturn* ȏ

**Yayn, Cassiel, Cassiel, Machatan, Uriel, Farlas, Amabael, Cterari, Altarib, Geremiah, Commutaff, Affeterim, Maimon Rex, Abumalith, Assaibi, Balidet.**

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### *The Invocation for Saturday.*

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I Conjure and bind it by your Powers, Cassiel, Machatori, and Serapaiel, or Seraquiel, you great and Powerfully Angels by the names of + Adonay + Adonai + [139r] Adonai + Eie + Eie + Eie + Acim + Acim + Acim + Cados + Cados + Cados + Ima + Ima + Ima + Saday + Ja + Ser + The High God, the maker of time, who rested the Seventh day, and of his owne will gave to his Children of Israel, to be observed as their Birth-Right, that if they firmly kept and sanctified it, they should receive therefrom a great Reward in another world, And by the Angels that serve in the Seventh Sphear, before Boel, the great Angel, and powerfull Prince; and by the Star which is called Saturn; By all aforesaid, and the vertues thereof, I humbly implore, and most earnestly and importunately entreat and adjure you, O ye great and Potent Angel Caphriel, or, Caphiel, or Cassiel, who art preordinately decreed by the Omnipotent Creator of Heaven and Earth to be Governour of this day, That thou Endeavour for me, and by friendly unto me & to fullfill all my Petitions and Desires, &c. and doe for me as for the Servant of the Highest &c.

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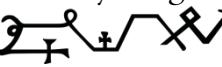
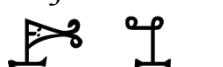
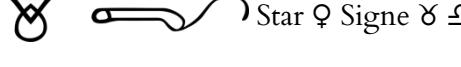
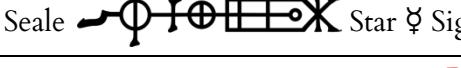
<sup>396</sup> As usual, a note at the side of this list gives the variants of the last names, already mentioned.

There follows a Table of the Planetary hours, being the same printed in A Treatise of Mathematicall Phisick by G.C. gent. 1599.

A Table of the Names of every Houre, & the Angells governing them, according to the Course of the daies & Nights Astronomicall &c:

	<i>Hours of the day</i>	⊖	⊕	♂	♀	♃	♄	♅	♆
	Names of the Hours	<i>Sunday</i>	<i>Munday</i>	<i>Tuesday</i>	<i>Wednesday</i>	<i>Thursday</i>	<i>Friday</i>	<i>Saturday</i>	
1	Yayn.	Michael	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	
2	Ianor.	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel	
3	Nasnia.	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Samael	
4	Salla.	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	
5	Sadedali.	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	
6	Thamur.	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael	
7	Ourer.	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	
8	Tanic.	Michael	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	
9	Neron.	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel	
10	Iayon.	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Samael	
11	Abay.	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	
12	Natalon.	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	
		<i>Hours of the Night</i>							
1	Berol	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael	
2	Baron	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	
3	Thanu	Michael	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	
4	Athir	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel	
5	Mathun	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Samael	
6	Rana	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	
7	Nefros	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	
8	Taffrac	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael	
9	Sassur	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	
10	Aglo	Michael	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	
11	Calerna	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Samael	Raphael	Sachiel	
12	Salam	Raphael	Sachiel	Anael	Cassiel	Michael	Gabriel	Samael	

[139v] *A Table of the diurnall Governments of the Angells, with their Seales & Characters usefull for the more ready making of the Circle, &c.*

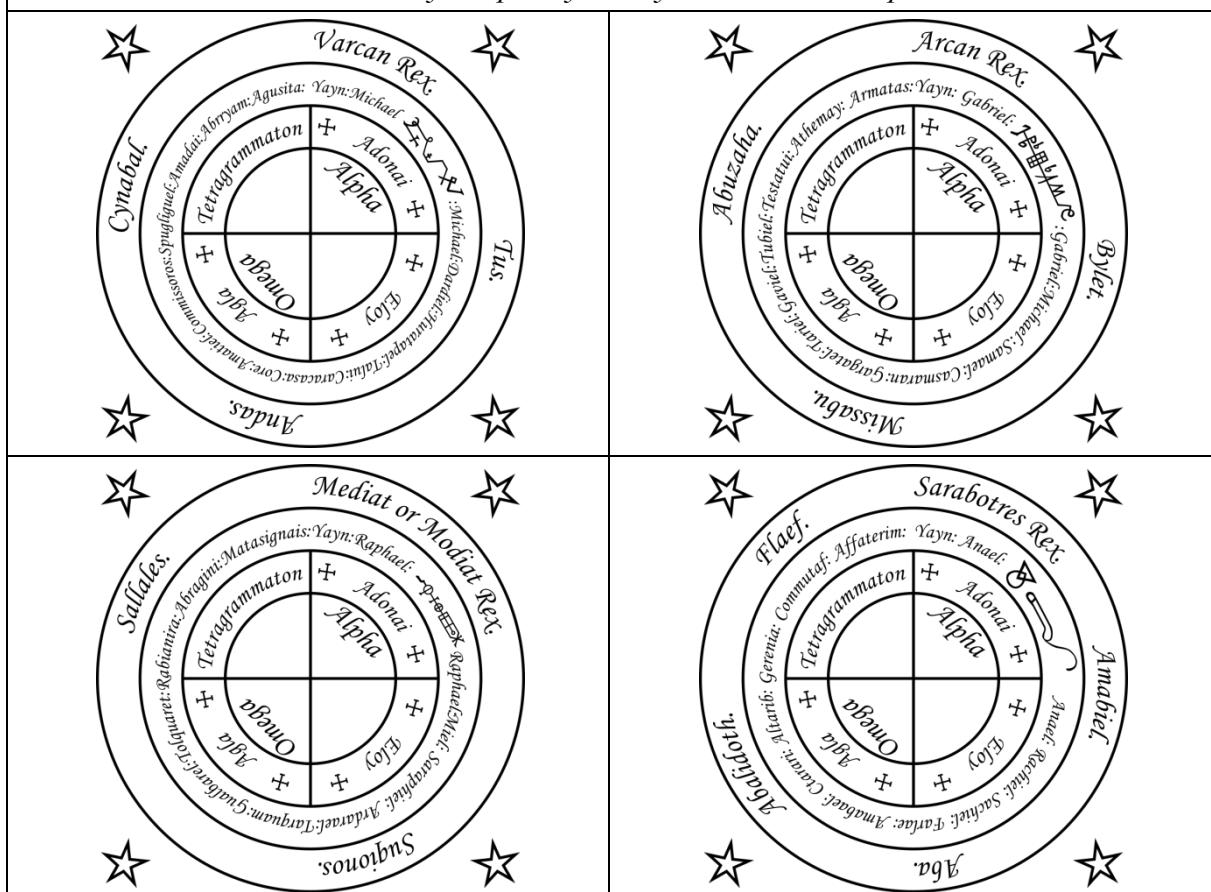
<i>Die Solis</i> or Sunday; Angel is <b>Michael</b> , Seale or Character  Star ☀, Signe ♂	<i>Die Jovis</i> or Thursday Angel is <b>Sachiel</b> Seale  Star ♡ Signe ✡
Angels { Governing on Sunday are { Michael Dardiel Huratapel Varcan Rex Ruling the Ayre on Sunday are { Tus Andas Cynabal	Angels { Governing on Thursday are { Sachiel Castiel Asasiel Ruling the Aire on Thursday are { Suth Rex Maguth Gutrix.
<i>Die Luna</i> or Munday; Angel is <b>Gabriel</b> , his seale  Star ♪ Signe ♪	<i>Die Veneris</i> or Friday, Angel is <b>Anael</b> , Seale  Star ♀ Signe ♀
Angels { Governing on Munday are { Gabriel Michael Samael Ruling the Aire on Munday are { Arcan Rex Bylet Myssabu Abuzaha	Angels { Governing on Friday are { Anael Rachiel Sachiel Sarabotes Rex Ruling the Aire on Friday are { Amabiel Aba Abalidoth Flaef
<i>Die Martis</i> or Tuesday, Angel is <b>Samael</b> , Seale  Star ♂ Signe ♀	<i>Die Saturni</i> or Saterday, Angel is <b>Cassiel</b> , his Seale  Star ♫ Signe ♫
Angels { Governing on Tuesday are { Samael Satiel Ambiel Ruling the Aire on Tuesday are { Samax Rex Carmax Ismoli Paffran	Angels { Governing on Saterday are { Cassiel Machaton Uriel Ruling the Aire on Saturday are { Maymon Rex Abumalith Assaibi Balidet
<i>Die Mercurii</i> or Wednesday, Angel is <b>Raphael</b> , Seale  Star ♀ Signe ♀	
Angels { Governing on Wednesday are { Raphael Miel Saraphiel Ruling the Aire on Wednesday are { Mediat or Modiat Rex Suquinos Sallales.	Name of the { First Second Third Fourth Fift Sixt Seaventh } Heaven, is Machen Shaim Raquie Saguin Machen Machon Zebul <small><sup>397</sup></small>

<sup>397</sup> The printed *Heptameron* did not give the name of the seventh Heaven. Other works of the period (e.g. the *Liber Salomonis* / *Sepher Raziel* version in BL Sloane 3846, and a table deriving from the *Heptameron* in Bodleian Rawlinson D. 253) have *Araboc* or *Araboth* (from Heb. עַרְבָּה).

[140r] *A Table of Variations according to the four Quarters or seasons of the yeare &c.: serving also as the former for the more ready & easie making the Circle.*

Spring.	Summer.
Name of the Spring —————	<b>Talui</b>
Angels of the Spring —————	<b>Caracasa</b> <b>Core</b> <b>Amatiel</b> <b>Comissoros</b> <b>Spugliguel</b>
Head of the Signe in the Spring —————	<b>Amadai</b>
Name of the Earth in the Spring —————	<b>Abraim</b>
Names of the { Sun Moone } in the Spring {	<b>Agusita</b>
<i>Autume.</i>	
Name of the Autume —————	<b>Ardarael</b>
Angels of the Autume —————	<b>Tarquam</b> <b>Gualbarel</b> <b>Tolquaret</b>
Head of the Signe in the Autume —————	<b>Rabianira</b>
Name of the Earth in the Autume —————	<b>Abragini</b>
Names of y <sup>e</sup> { Sun Moone } in y <sup>e</sup> Autume {	<b>Matasignalis</b>
<i>Winter</i>	
Name of the Winter —————	<b>Farlae</b>
Angels of the Winter —————	<b>Amabael</b> <b>Ctarari</b> <b>Altarib</b>
Head of the Signe in the Winter —————	<b>Gerenia</b>
Name of the Earth in the Winter —————	<b>Commutaf</b>
Names of y <sup>e</sup> { Sun Moone } in y <sup>e</sup> Winter {	<b>Affaterim</b>

*An Exemplification of foure severall Circles for foure severall daies in the four Various Seasons of the yeare for the first houre each day.*



[141r]<sup>398</sup> **An Introduction**, teaching the use of the foregoing treatis & thereby other experiments & operations of the like nature orders or offices as a president refer'd to the spirits of the Ayr, being a sufficient exemplification for any Phylosopher Skillfull in the Art of Magick, & well knowing how to make a trew & racionall distinction between the Cœlestiall & blessed Angells, or intelligences, and the Cœlestially Dignified Elementall Angells, or spirits of light, & also of other elementall powers, or spirits, both of light & darkness; & so by nature and office, both good & Evill, together with others, called wandering spirits of the Ayr, of the like nature & office, but of no orders, mansions, or proper place of Residence, but moving even like as flies in the son, without sensible subjections to any superior powers, together with Infernall powers, called spirits of Darkness, or Devils, who are saide by nature & office to be wholly evill, & therefore of themselves not to be invocated, moved, or called forth to visible Appearance, as the other Elementall powers, or spirits are; & may be; but other spirits of their nature, orders, & offices may be them, & the power given to them (by Divine permission in the blessed Trinity) & in their names be moved & called forth to visible appearance, for such, or those purposes, which may, & usually doth serve to the benefit of mankind; &c.

*Of the making or Composure of the Circle.*

**The making of Circles** are not allwaies one & the same, but are to be changed according to the variation of the season of the yeare; the day of the weeke; & the howre of the day; for all which there are necessary tables, & rules herewith annexed, therefore in composing a Circle consider the time of the yeare, the day of the weeke, & the hower of the day, & what spirits are Elected, chosen or set apart to be moved or called forth, to what star, order, Region, or mansion they do belong, & what nature or office they are; &c. And in making the Circle, let the Diameter thereof be nine foot (allowing 12 inches to the foot) & within the outward Circle, draw three Circles more, about a hands breadth distance from each other; then within the first Circle beginning at the East Angle thereof (as in the foregoing exemplified figures thereof is foreshewed) & first write the name of the King, then his 3 ministers in the other 3 angles, (being the Angel that governs the day, which is elected to make an experiment, or to invocate in) & the first [141v] Circle is finished: Then the second Circle, beginning at the East part therof, write the name of the hower, & the Angel governing the same, & his Character, then the name of the Angel that governs the day, & also of those who are assistance to him therein then the name of the present seasone or quarter, of the Yeare, then the names of the Angels that governs that quarter; then the name of the head of the signe, and of the Earth, & of the sun and Moon in that quarter and so the second Circle is finished, & in the innermost Circle

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<sup>398</sup> Fol. 140v bears six circular figures with planetary characters on them, with no captions and not explained or referred to anywhere in the text; they are omitted in the present provisional release.

(Circle) write these four Divine names **+** **Adonay** **+** **Eloy** **+** **Agla** **+** **Tetragrammaton** **+** with crosses before & after them; Divide the inward Circle, with two cross lines, goeing quite Athwart the middle, joined to the first line thereof; which shall divide the inward vacuum into four parts, making the four Angles, East, West, North, & South, & in the East Angle write **Alpha**, & in the west **Omega**; & on the outside make four pentagons, and against each Angle, & so the whole Circle is finished, examples whereas is before inserted, &c. And be sure to have regard to the name of hower & the planet, that governeth the same & his Character, for they must be altered every hower, & he that is a Phylosopher knoweth our meaning, but he that is not, & yet shall ignorantly attempts what he understands not; & bringeth not his purpose to effect, he can blame nothing herein, but his own mistakes, for we dare not communicate all we know, & as for the method of practice, it is thus, first consider of & have a convenient place, which ought to be very private, & free from the over-seeing, or over-hearing of any passengers, or adjacent neibour-hood whether it be within a house, or without a house, &c. which is also specified more at large in an introduction foregoeing; And let the invocant have a vestment of white linnen & the seale or Pentagone, on his breast, as a sworde; on the one [142r] side whereof should be engraven this word **+** **Agla** **+** & on the other side this worde **+** **On** **+** And when the invocant putteth on his vestment, & goeth to enter the Circle, let him say thus.

**Ancor; Amacor; Amides; Theodonias; Anitor;** by the power of the blessed Trinity wherewith we are through faith dignified with Coelestiall Supremisie & command over all spirits of what nature, orders, office, degree, Mansions, or place of being soever they are: Grant o Lorde that I putting on this vestment of safty, may powerfully (together with these my Associats) be defended from all the Assualts, surprises, frights, feares, & Amasements of wicked, or evill spirits, and that by the virtue & efficacy of our invocations we may effectually move, call forth, & constraine those Elementall Spirits, or Spirituall Powers, as we shall thereby move or call-forthe, whether by nature, name, orders, or office, visibly & peaciblly to apeare unto us & faithfully to fullfill & to performe unto us whatsoever we shall accordingly request, & command them; without the least of hurt or iniury or any other evill deed to be don unto us, or to this place, or to any other place, or person whatsoever, through thee, o holy **Adonai**, whose mercy Endureth for ever, Amen.<sup>399</sup>

<sup>399</sup> This may serve as an example of how the present text has bloated pseudo-Abano with additional verbiage. In the printed *Heptameron*, this prayer (versions of which can also be found in multiple *Clavicula Salomonis* versions) runs: ANCOR: AMACOR: AMIDES: THEODONIAS: ANITOR, *Per merita Angelorum tuorum sanctorum Domine, induam vestimenta salutis ut hoc quod desidero, possim perducere ad effectum: per te sanctissime Adonay, cuius Regnum permanent, per omnia secula seculorum, Amen* (In English: [voces magica], By the merits of thy holy Angels, O Lord, I will put on the vestments of salvation, that I may be able to bring to effect that which I desire, by thee, most holy Adonai, who Kingdom endures for ever and ever, Amen.)

**Then the master, or invocant**, being ready, heaving his vestments on, the seale on his Breast, his sword in his right hand, & his booke (or notes) in his left hand, Enter the Circle, & his Associates after him, & place himself in the East angle of the circle & then first humbly request beseech & supplycate<sup>400</sup> the benevolent Aid, & Assistance of all the Angels particularly, that appertaine to the time of action, the [142v] which are both written about the Circle, & also to be found elsewhere, in there proper places in the diernall experientions, or directions, from the East; & so turning himself to the west Angle do the like; & also in like manner to the North, and lastly to the south as aforesaide, in manner & forme as followeth.

**O all ye Glorious Angels of us at this time called upon by name;** we the servants of the most high God, Reverantly here present in his holy feare do earnestly, & humbly beseeke you all, in the most true & especiall name of your God, & by the trew signe; seale, & head of your orders, Governing & bearing principal, & Respective power over you, as by the preordinate degree of the highest, in the blessed Trinity is appointed, & by the effecacyous virtue, & force thereof, to help us, to suport us, to assist us, & be friendly unto us, in these our present operations & Affaires that by the constraining power, & force of our invocations, & at our utterance; Reading & rehearsal thereof, we may thereby, potently, & infallibly move call forth & command all such, or those Elementall Spirits, as eather by orders office, name; or other wise we shall according invocate move or call forth to visible Appearance, that they may be also Enforced, compelled, & constrained, forthwith & immediately to appeare unto us plainly & visibly to the sight of our Eye, in peace, and quietness, silence, obediently & readily fullfilling & performing unto us all our desires, & requests, & serving us according to their severall & Respective natures, & office, in what soever we shall command them, without noise or other disturbances whereby [143r] to assault or surprise our sences with any falls motions, dreadfull Appearances, frights, feares, Amazments, to deceive, or delude us, or any other evill deed or ingury to be don to us, or to this place in any wise whatsoever, [& that they may obediently & readily fullfill & performe unto us all our desires, requests & serve us according to there severall and respective natures & offices in whatsoever we shall command them,]<sup>401</sup> in all which & whatsoever els that shall be yet further nessesary & benificiall for us herein, more then we are capable to relate: we do againe earnestly entreat & humbly beseech you, O all ye glorious Angells afforsaide, to do for us, as for the servant of the most high God wherein we move you in power & assistance as

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<sup>400</sup> From “the East angle” to here written in *sup lin.* in the same hand as the main text.

<sup>401</sup> Text in square brackets written *sup lin.* and spilling into the right margin, in the same hand as the main text.

afforesaide whose works & benevolence unto us herein, shall be a song of honour & the praise of your God in your creation. Amen.<sup>402</sup>

**All which being duly observed**, <illegible><sup>403</sup>; let the master invocant here declare, shew forth, & make knowne the cause, or occasion why he thus calleth upon them, for their Aid & assistance; heaving the same fairly written in a paper or parchment in his hand ready to utter; &c. Then let the master proceed on, & in the next place devoutly to read the invocation assined to the day, & thereby humbly to implore & beseeke, the Cœlestiall Asistance of the blessed Angels, or intelligences governing that day wherein he laboureth, mentioning also therein his desires, as in the saide invocation it is to be repeated, & may be further understood, relation being thereunto had; the which also nextly followeth in order; & then afterwards let the invocant turne his face towards that Angle or point of the compass from whence [143v] the appointed spirit is to be moved, or called forth, & then placing his associates orderly by him, then let him invocate the spirit, or Spirits by name &c. as accordingly is appointed hereafter following, with other suitable directions necesary to be well understood, as to the Apparitions, & other matters of note.

*The Invocation moving & calling forth the Spirits  
of the Aire, mentioned in the foregoing Treatise,  
of the seaven Diurnall or daily Observations.<sup>404</sup>*

**O you Spirit, or Spirituall power;** who is known of use from the tradition of our Ancestours, & called by the name **N:**<sup>405</sup> having power given you to visit the earth, & to execute the commandements of the highest, & also by divine permission plainly & visibly, & in faire decent forme to appeare unto the sones of men, servants of the most high God, livieng on earth, whensoever you shall be of them invocated, commanded, called-forth, moved, & thereby conjured, & constrained there-unto to obey them, to serve them, & to be friendly unto them & readily fourthwith to fullfill & performe all such their commands & requests, which they shall make, wherein by nature office order, places or power, you many in any wise be concerned or servesable, know therefore o you Spirite called by name **N:** (as aforesaid) that we the servants of the most high [144r]

<sup>402</sup> The final clause is a variant / expansion of the conclusion of the sixth of Dee's *Claves Angelicae*, which in the English reads "Wherfore harken unto my voice, I have talked of you and I move you, in power and presence, whose works shalbe a song of honor and the praise of your God in your Creation." Variations occur frequently in the "Invocation of Angels" text-group.

<sup>403</sup> One or two rubricated words unreadable in the scans I'm using; probaly something like "as aforesaid."

<sup>404</sup> This, besides being a grotesque bloating of the "Exorcism of the Aerial Spirits" of the *Heptameron* (which in turn is derived from the *Vinculum spirituum*), is likely the source of the "General Invocation, Conjuration or Constringation" of *Longobardus* (*vide supra*, fol. 13v-15v): while the latter has some variations, other parts are verbatim with the present text, and the context suggests the *Longobardus* text was adopted from the current conjuration rather than *vice versa*.

<sup>405</sup> Here substitute the name of the Spirit.

God, & reverently here present in his holy feare, do conjure, command, constraine, move & call you forth to visible Appearance in the name of the most high **Madilzodarp**, even the almighty, allpowerfull, immense, incomprehensible & immortall God & lord of hosts the only Creatour of heaven & earth, & of all things whatsoever that is contained therein [and also more distinctly & in particular by the truest & most especiall name & attribute of your God, whome you also in place & office in all due reverence & feare meekely serve honor worship & obey, *(who &c.)*]<sup>406</sup> who in the beginning of time, by his all divine & eternall degree, amongst other wonderfull, greate & Marvelous works of your creation, by the mouth of his holy Spirit in the blessed Trinity, saide let us make man according to our Image similitude, & let him beare rule over the works of our hands & have soverigne power & command over all sublunar spirits, both Ayeriall, Terestriall, & otherwise Elementall, & other wandering Spirits, & infernall spirits of all oders & offices whatsoever, both of light & darkness, & by your seale or Character most firmly & solidly binding, subjecting & obliging you by orders & offices, both to the Divine command of the highest; and his servants the sones of men, calling forth, & moving your thereunto: And we do also further conjure, compel, command, constraine, call forth & move you, o ye spirite called by the name **N:** to visible appearance, move therefore, o ye spirit **N:** come away & appeare ye visibly unto us before this Circle in faire and decent forme; not in any wise terrible or affrightfull unto us, to amaze or surprise us, or in any violent, [144v] or turbulent manner hurtfull to us, or this place, or to any other person or place whatsoever, but come & appeare ye in all serenity, peace and mildness shewing forth likewise unto us a visible signe or teste forgoeing your Appearance, and by the virtue, power, efficacy & influence of these great; mighty & sacred names of the most high God which Adam heard and speake, & by the name **Agla**, which Lott heard & was save with his family, And by the name of **Gyn**, which Noah heard & speake after his was delivered from the flood, And by the names which Abraham heard and did know God; And by the name **Joth**, which Jacob heard, and was delivered from the hand of his brother Esau: And by the name **Tetragrammaton**; which he heard of the Angel striveing with him; And by the name **Anapheketon**; which Aron heard, & speaking was made wise; and by the name **Zebaoth**; which Moses names, & the watter of Egypt was turned into blood; And by the name **Escherie oriston**, which Moses named, and all the rivers belched out frogs, & they went into the Egyptians houses, destroying all things; And by the name **Adonay**, which Moses named, and there were locusts appeared upon the Land of the Egyptians, and Eat up that which was remaining; And by the name **Elion**; which Moses named, & there was such a storme of haile, as was not from the begining of the world; [145r] And by the name **Primeumaton**; & the most wonderfull power and Effecacy thereof; mich Moses named and the Earth opened her mouth, & swallowed up Corah, Dathan, &

<sup>406</sup> Words in square brackets written in the top margin, with an insertion mark after "contained therein"

Abiram, and all their Generation and people; And by the name that Moses heard from the mids of the burning bush, & was astonished; And by the name that the Israelits heard upon the mount Sina, & they dyed for feare; And by the name **Burne**, and by the vertue and power whereof the sea parted in sunder; And by the efficacy of that name, at the Reharsing whereof the watters was Divided; and by the mighty power of that great name, at the speaking whereof, the stones burst and relented; And by the name **Schemes Amathia**, which Joshua named, And the son staied his course, And by the name **Alpha and Omega**; which Daniel named, and destroyed Bell and the Dragon; And by the name **Emanuel**, which the three Children, Shadrack, Mesach, & Abednego, sang in the fiery furnace & where dilivered; And by the imperiall throne; And by the Majesty and Deity of the Almighty, Everlasting & true God of hosts, we do call upon you O you spirit who is called **N:** And being dignified by the power of his holy Spirit, & strengthened by his all powerfull Arme; & being thereby supported with his Cœlestiall and Divine Assistance, Do conjure, command, constraine, call-forth & move you o you Spirit **N:** to visible appearance; move therefore and appeare, yea, & shew yourself visiblly & affeblly in faire [145v] and decent forme unto us before this Circle, & com yea in all serenity, mildness, peace, & friendship, & in no wise terrible or hurtfull to us or in this place or to any other place or person whatsoever; And make true and faithfull<sup>407</sup> Answeres unto all such, or those our demands & requests as we shall make; & desire of you, & also effectually to accomplish, fullfill, & performe unto us whatsoever we shall thereby Enjoyne & command you, Wherin your orders & office is in any wise properly Appertayning & Concerned. Now therefore O you spiret N: Prepare ye, & be not Obstanett, Refrectory, nor pertonatiou, but come ye away forthwise & emediately from your orders, Mantion, or place of Residence Vissibly unto us before this Circle, & Depart ye not from our presents, Until you have trewly & fully Effected & performed all such our Commandments we shall Enjoyne you, without any Delay, fraud, guile, or Illusion whatsoever: now therefore harken unto our Voyce O you spirit **N:** & be not Obstanett, Refrectory, nor disobedient; know ye that we the servants of the Most High God, being Dignified, fortified, supported, assisted, & Incorridged, by his omnipotent, Divine & Cœlestiall power; & by the virtue, power, Influence, & Efficacy thereof, & by this his most High, Great & Might Name **Jehovah Tetragrammaton**, who saith and it is done, whome all creatures, both Cœlestiall, Elementall & Infernall, with feare & Reverence do most humbley serve, honnour & obey; & wherein all the world was formed, which being heard, The Elements Thunder, the Ayre is sheken, the sea goes back, the fire is quenched, the earth Trembleth, & all the heavenly, Earthly & Infernall host do tremble, & are troubled, do conjure, command, compel, constraine call forth & move you to visible Appearance. Wherfore O ye Spirit called **N:** now presently, & without any further

<sup>407</sup> Originally “Skillfull”; corrected *sec. man.* (?).

tarring illusion hinderance or delay, Move ye immediately, Even at this very Instant call, make hast & come away, & appeare ye [146r] visibly affably, courteously and peacibly, in faire and decent forme unto us, before this Circle, And to shew forth unto us a true & visibly sighne foregoeing your comming & Appearance, And come ye in all serenity, quietness & friendship, without noyce or turbulencie, or in any violent manner, hurtfull to us, or this place, or to any other place or person whatsoever, or otherside; either to assault, surprise, or Amaze us Either in spirit or bodily senses, with feare Astonishment, or other dreadfull or tirable visions, or false motions & appearances, in any wise to affright, obstruct or delude [...];<sup>408</sup> and make *(make)* us Rationall true & faithfull Ansawares, speaking to plainly unto us as that we may perfectly heare and understand you; Readily & willingly fullfilling all our desires, which by your office and power in any wise properly you may or can; move therefore, & come away in the name of omnipotent; Everliving, and true God **Helioren**; And appeare ye as afforesaide, visibly here before us in the names **Aye Saraye, Aye Saraye, Aye Saraye**; make hast, & defer not your coming, in & through these names **Eloy, Archima, Rabac**; And obey your master who is called Octinomos; Now then finally, know ye o ye sperit **N**: that we being Dignified by Cœlestiall power, do by the contents of this our great and Royall Invocation (as aforesaid) & by the virtue; power, influence & effecacy thereof Conjure, command, compel, constraine, call forth & move you to visible appearance; immediately even at this very minnit: Give ye now therefore present Audience, Attendance, & obedience hereunto, and come away with speed, & appeare ye visibly unto the sight of our eyes, in faire & decent form before this Circle, & shew forth unto us a visible signe foregoeing your appearance, persisting herein to the full, & effectually accomplishment and fullfilling of all our demands, & requests that we have; or shall make unto you, even unto the very utmost (as have before saide) without further Appology, excuse, pretence, hinderen, [146v] or tarring, delay, delusion, deceit, subtilty, craft, disguise, interruption, flase motions, disturbance, feare, fight, Amazement, by any dreadfull or terrible assault, or surprisall or any other Illusion whatsoever.

This Invocation being for three tymes distinctly read or said, & that o visible or sensible appearance should as yet plainly present it self or shew forth any signall offer or considerable Testimony, or other materiall signes thereof to the sight or hearing of the Master Invocant, & his Assotiates, or to any one or either of them, &c.: then let the Master earnestly with good devotion read & make often repitition of this — following Replication.<sup>409</sup>

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<sup>408</sup> Indistinctly written word, possibly “is,” but the context suggests “us” was meant.

<sup>409</sup> This paragraph of rubric and the title and first line of the next invocation is in an apparently different hand to the main text.

*Invocation Replicatory*

O yee Spirit whom wee have moved & called forth by the name **N:** And also by orders & office, as well as mansions, Residence, or place of abode appointed you by the devine decree of the highest in the preordinate dispensation of the Blessed Trinity, & likewise wheresoever else you may, or shall happen at this present time to be; & yet notwithstanding the force & power of our invocation, you appeare not visibly here before us in faire and decent forme, without turbulence or violence, or in any other, fearfull, dreadfull, hurtfull, or terrible manner, to dismay, or delude us, according as we have Earnestly & powerfully invocated, moved, Requested, & thereby commanded you; nor any apparent Singne, or visible testimony, or other permanent Signature of your coming, or Appearance, or that by this your not coming, nor Appearance, nor any visibile signe thereof is at all Represented, or offered, or how otherwise you may be disposed of by Divine appointment, or shall happen Chancely to be absent frome orders, mansion, or proper place of abode, is at this time shewed forth; or mande appeare to us, whereby we cannot otherwise but Rationally [147r] conjecture that all this want of due performance in this our certain expectation, of your personall & reall appearance, obviously heare before us, & also true & visible foregoeing signes thereof in manner & forme accordingly as we have saide before, but that all together procede rather from perverse, willfull stubborn, refractory & obstinate disobediance then otherwise, by all which we cannot otherwise but imagine then of your hatred, Malice, Rancour Enmity, & envie to us & towards all mankind, moveing calling forth, & commanding you to such their purpose & service; as the most high God, by orders and office, in place accordingly, hath appointed you, to his honnour & Glorie, and the benefit of his servaants the sones of men, lieving on earth, for whose comfort & use all things, & creatures in the Creation, both Annimall, vegetable, & mineral, were firstly ordained, and afterwards freely bequeathed, & given; Maugere<sup>410</sup> the despight of all malignant, or evill spirits or other spirituall powers of darkness that shall enviously strive, or seeke to oppose, obstruck, or withstand them. Know therefore O ye spirit **N:** that we the servants of the most high God do yet further & againe move command, constraine & call you forth to visible appearance by the name **N:** here before us, in faire and decent forme, & shape without noyse; or any turbulent or violent manner or otherwise dreadfull, hurtfull, or affrightfull unto us, whereby to assault us, or our senses with feare & Amazaement; to dismay or delude us, & also without doeing the leasts of harme or injury to us, or to this place, or to any other person or place whatsoever upon the earth, but come ye & appeare visible here before us, in faire & decent forme, quietly & peaceably, not in any wise terrible or troublesome to us by any false motions, or Delusions, but in all friendship, Mildness &

<sup>410</sup> An obsolete word meaning "in spite of" (more usually found as *mauger*).

serenity, as aforesaid, now therefore we the servants of the Most High God, Do, by & in the true & most Especiall names of your God, & by [147v] the Cœlestiall power, wherewith we are at this time dignified and fortified, & by the virtue & power of these our Invocations made (as affore said) unto you, & all the Royall words & sentences therein Contained, & by the head of your orders, & the true signe & seale thereof; & by your particular Seal or Charector of Creation conferming you in orders, ofice & mansion, & thereby confining & commanding you, at the naming thereof; first, unto the service of God, & his Divine commandements, & secondly, unto the service & benefit of his servants the sones of men living on Earth, whensoever they shall have urgent occasion, or other nescesity to move & call you forth to their helpe and assistance, wherein by orders & office, you are bound accordingly to serve and obey: By all afforsaide, & by these presents, we do finally & againe powerfully exorcize, conjure, command, constraine, call forth, & move you by name orders & office, o ye spirit who is called **N:** to visible Apperance in faire & peaceable order & manner as afforesaide, move thereore prepare ye; & by the virtue & power of all afforesaide, we constraine move & command you to come away & appeare ye immediately forthwith visibly here before us, & also to shew forth plainly unto us a true signe or signes foregoing your coming & appearance, or otherwise to send, or shew forth unto us such a true signe, or signes of your not coming & Appearing here before us at this time that we may be truly and Rationally satisfied thereof: make hast therefore & come or ssend a way immedately, at this very moment from your orders, Mansion, or place of Residence, or whresoever els you are at this present, & stay not, nether delay, nor defer [148r] the time of your comming & visible Appearance unto us one minute longer, as you will answare this your contempts & willfull obstinacy, at your utmost peril: move then (we say) & by the constraining power & the force & vertue thereof wherewith we have at this time commanded & called you forth, & appeare ye visibly heare before us, in manner & forme as before we have saide without any further tareing, hinderence, delay, or Delusion whatsoever, in the true name of that your God, who shall certainly iudge all the wicked, perverse, obstinate, pertinacious Refractory & Disobediant spirits, not onely with great severities duering the continuance of time here, but also with greater judgments hereafter, even by fire & utter dissolution, to totall Distraction, & finall subversion of all ye Adverse, Rebelious, Reprobate Spirits, who shall therefore in that day bee cast forth into endless & Eternall forgetfulness; Behold therefore your Conclusion, & be not yet further obstinate nor disobedient.<sup>411</sup>

This **Replication** being about seven times devoutly reade and Repeated or other otherwise at the discretion of the invocant, as the occasion thereof shall require &c. And

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<sup>411</sup> The next passage of rubric continues without a paragraph break in the MS., though a heavy line is drawn above, below and to the left of the first letter, to clearly demarcate it.

then perchance, before any reall Apparition sheweth it selfe there may be severall signes & tokens, as foreruners thereof; present themselves, as is before specified in the Diurnall observations, & many times may be heard Organs, & other Musicall instruments of severall kinds playing, & many motions may be discerned, As it were Archers, & the similitude of terrible Beasts, to pass to & fro, as furiously & violently as if they would devour all before them, & when such things are discerned, let not the Master invocant trouble himself to looke much upon them, or to cast is eye stedfastly, [148v] or Directly at them, except he pleaseth, but his companions may, be reason they ought to observe all passeges, but then they must not be faint hearted, but of an undaunted spirit and resolution &c. For probably the signes of the appearance, may bee somwhat terrible, & full of severall strange, various & [...]able vision, feare motions, & sudden frightfull, and terrible delusions, which forme themselves on purpose to strike the invocant, & his associates into feare, to dismay them; yet let them fear nothing, but be courageous and undaunted, persisting with constant resolutions, the master Phylosopher having great respect to the business & charge; which is to constraine & exorcize them: & if they should not forthwith appeare in such shape & similitude as they were commanded & expected, & continue as yet obstinate and in Disobediant to the command and constraint of the master, then let him stretch forth his hand with his sword in it, and first touching the seale on his breast, say thus:

**Let this your iniquity** and willfull obstinacy fly away, & obediently appeare visible here (here) before us in faire & decent forme, & with humble & peaceable submission, readily & willingly to serve us, in performing and fullfilling all such, & those our commandements whatsoever we shall request & make demand of, unto you, in the great & most especiall name, & by the dignitie Power & might of your most high, true & just God; &c.

**Then will there be heard hisings**<sup>412</sup> & will be seen many swift & great motions in all parts about the Circle; which when they shall be perceived by (by) the Master of any of his associates, then shall the invocant say,

**Why doe you linger;** why do you delay; what doe you doe, prepare ye, come away, & obey these our commands, the true name of the most high & all powerfull God, **Bathat** or **Bachat**, rushing upon **Abrac**; **Abeor**, comeing upon **Aberer**.

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<sup>412</sup> This translation of the expression in pseudo-Abano's Latin (*sibilet in quatuor Angulis mundi*) is highly doubtful, although the same mistake was apparently made independently by two English translators of the *Heptameron*: the copy in Sloane MS. 3851, independent of and probably pre-dating Turner, rendered it "ther wilbe a hissing." That whole section of rubric derives from the *Liber Iuratus Honori* (cap. CXXXIII) and in context it is an instruction to the magician to whistle: the construction of the whistle is described in cap. CXL of the *Liber Iuratus*. See Peterson's *Elucidation of Necromancy* & notes to the online text of the *Heptameron*.

[149r] Then immediately will all the superfluous motions & the other impertinent signes & Appearances vanish, & be noe more seen, and the spirit called forth, will presently appeare, & shew itself visibly & affably in decent forme, (or else in its own proper shape) before the Circle; then shew unto it your seale touching it with the sword saying thus unto it,

**Behold your Conclusion<sup>413</sup> & be not dissobedient.**

**Then presently** will it become obedient, & redy to fullfill the desire & proposal of the master invocant; which when either he or his associates shall perceive him thus, saying,

**Welcome you most noble spirit:** behold as we have moved, & called you forth, in by & through the true & great name of the most high incomprehensible & immortall God; to whome all knees do most reverently & obediently bow, both of Coelestiall, Terrestiall, & infernall; Creatures, in whose hands all Kingdoms are, neither is there anyone who dare oppose his Almighty Majesty, nor his devine will & pleasure, so we do likewise in by & through the same devine; omnipotent; Great most sacred & true name of your God, And by the dignity, power, Effecacy, force & vertue thereof, Adjure command, & constraine, you to tell us your name, & your office, & what orders you are of & what mansion & where is your Residence, & under whome you are, & to shew plainly to me & my Associates, or to some one or more, or all of us, the true seale or Character of your Creation upon your breast, to the which you beare obedience; & always stick Close: And now we command, binde, & constraine you, in by & through the vertue & Effecacy of that most great mighty & powerfull name of the most high God; [149v] who thereby hath limited, & set bounds unto the sea, which it cannot surpass, exceed, or go beyond, And in by & through these great, powerfull, & most effecatious names whereby King Salomon moved, called-forth, constrained, bound, inclosed shut up spirits, **Elbrach, Ebanber, Agla, Goth, Ioth, Othie, Venoch, Nabrach**, that ye stay, and tarry here visibly, affeably, & friendly to us before this Circle, so long & so Constant ats we shall thike expedient; & that you depart not from hence, without our leave, nor untill you heave fullfilled our will & desires in all respects without any delay, fraude, or deceite, or any evill dede, matter or thing to happen unto us or any other Creature upon the face of the Earth.

**Then will the Spirit appeare**, & say into the invocant: <illegible><sup>414</sup>

<sup>413</sup> *Ecce conclusionem vestram.* “Conclusion” might be better translated “doom” (Peterson suggests “confinement”) in the context. Other texts (e.g. the Vadian *Lucidarium*) have “confusionem”; the *Liber Iuratus* (*apud* Hedegård), *Ecce coniuracionem vestram*.

<sup>414</sup> The following speech (about 3 lines in the MS.) is almost completely unreadable in the scans I’m working from: it possibly begins, “What would you like [...]” The corresponding speech in the Latin *Heptameron* is, *Pete quid vis, quia nos sumus parati complere omnia mandata tua, quia Dominus ad hæc nos subiugavit.* Roughly: “Ask what you will, for we are prepared to comply with all your commands, for the Lord has subjected us to them.”

**Then let the Invocant** make his proposals & Command what he will & it will be done, then afterwards licence the spirits thus to depart:

**O you most noble spirit;** wee thanke your Master & you also; & now you may depart hence, & goe in peace to your orders, or other places of Residence, appointed & preordened, for you, by the devine Dispensation of the most high God, & Lord of hosts; in whose onely true & Great name; & by the vertue & power thereof; & by the principle head of your orders; let there be a firme & lasting peace, between you & us whensoever we shall have occasion to move & call you forth againe in **N: P: Et Fi: Et SP: S.**<sup>415</sup> **Amen.**

[The remainder of the text, consisting of a series of increasingly strongly worded threats, constraints and curses for uncoöperative Spirits, has no direct parallel in the *Heptameron*, whose main rubric concludes with the license to depart.]

<illegible><sup>416</sup> that if the Spirit, or [150r] spirits, invocated, should be very obstinate & perverse after many invocations & constraints, they are yet perverse & disobedient thereto, & Appeare not, they have used to constraine them by the following Constraint, which if well observed & duly performed, with Authority, is the greatest & most powerfull secret in this Art.

The method or manner of Constraining or Compelling any obstinate Spirits to visible Appearance & proceeding to Sentence of Condemnation thereby enforcing them to an Obedience or forever to suspend them or degrade them of all power & banish them from the presence both of Cœlestiall & terrestriall hopes, light favour, familiarity or other benignity whatsoever.<sup>417</sup>

**First**, take a piece of kid-skin parchment, & write thereon the name of the spirit, and bind it up with an iron wire, or Chaine, & put it into a black Box, with store of sulphur, then binde up the Box also, then make a fire of Eglantine or sweet bryar in a pan, placing it the Angle frome whence the spirit was invocated, & then throwing indeferent store of Sulphur thereinto, & holding the box over the fire & fume, on the point of the sword; Call upon the spirit againe very urgently, & constrainingly; Concluding the invocation wit this, saying.

**Behold your conclusion & be not Disobedient.**

**And** if he cometh, then cease, & proceed as is before taught; but it yet he cometh not, then observe the method following, as thus.

<sup>415</sup> Conventional abbreviation for *in Nomine Patri et Filii et Spiritus Sancti*.

<sup>416</sup> About half a line of rubricated text (five or six words), unreadable in the images I'm working from.

<sup>417</sup> This paragraph / title written *sec. man.*

Make a fire of Charcoale in a convenient [Copper (Vessel)] Vessel fit for that purpose & place it right before you, in that Angle from whence the Spirit is called forth, & having the black box prepaired & bound or [150v] chained up as aforesaid by itself, then put the same in the midst of a Bundle or Brush, or Fagot of Bryer or sweete Brier and lay the same just before at four feete, & so proceede to prepare the Fire in manner & forme as followeth.<sup>418</sup>

We Exorcize & conjure the o fire by him who can make the world tremble, & shall come to judge the living & the dead, & the world by fier, & who hath prepared Hell fire for the reward & punishment of the Damned, that you burn & torment this obstinate pervers disobedient, & pertinacious spirit **N:** & afflict him with paines unspeakeable, & so do it, that he may sensibly feel & endure it forever unles he doth immediatly, forthwith at this very moment, & at this yet my further constraining invocations, Readlyly, willingly, peacibly, Affably, & visibly appeare in faire & decent forme here before us, accordingly as we have here before moved & commanded.

### *The first Constraint.*

Then with Earnest Devotion read very Distinctly, with a passionate sober Temperature, & mental Reservation of spirit this following invocation.

**O you disobedient,** parverse & obstinate spirite **N:** Know ye that we being made, or Created after the Expres image; & Idea of the most high God, & *<illegible>*<sup>419</sup> dignified through divine Grace in the highest; with souveraine power & command over all sublunar spirits both of light & darkness, of all orders & offices, whether Ayyeriall, Terrestriall, or otherwise Elementall, or infernall, or other wandering powers whatsoever, with great benefit [151r] being geiven, confermed, & continued unto mankind; by the seale of Creation prefixed from the begining of time, & thereby inherent to all posterity, even to the utmost period thereof; we as the Children, or seed of the faithfull, & Cœlestiall Consubstantiate, & become one with superior parts, and participations, proceeding by an ordinate Coherence from the most high omnipotent, and Incomprehensible God-head, Angels Heavens, elements, and Elementall things, a devine benifite given only to makinde, and to noe other Creatur, thereby makinghim the most Excellent & surpassing all sublunar things of the Creation, by the vertue, power, dignity, efficacy, influence & symbolicall union, whereof we have at severall & many times moved & called you forth to visible Appearance; by the strength & force of our invocations, & constringations & yet notwithstanding all which, & also that Cœlestiall Sovereign power, wherewith we are (through devine Grace in the Blessed Trinity)

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<sup>418</sup> This paragraph of rubric written *sec. man.*

<sup>419</sup> Word looks like “Argwarably” but ‘arguably’ doesn’t really fit in the context.

dignified, defended, fortified, supported, & preseverd, nor at whatsoever else we have saide, mentioned, or Charged unto you, but that you rather still Continue & persiste on in obstinate, Refractory, willfull, & stuborne disobediants both unto the true & most esepciall Name of your God, & the principle head of your orders, and of us the true servants of the most high God, & of our commandements, whereby we have so often at severall times, both now & of late heretofore, moved & called you forth to visible Appearance in manner & forme as before we have saide, and as hitherto you have neither given Either attention, Attendance, or Appearance unto us, after all these our invocations maide & moved unto you which you have certainly both made & shewed your selfe notoriously guilty of high misdemeanors, & of grand obstancy, usurpation, disobedance, and Rebellion, against all Cœlestiall & Terrestiall Authority, whereof you being now, by all both Cœlestiall, & Terrestiall powers, found permanently culpable, & therefore accordingly convicted, we shall by that mighty power, & the force [151v] thereof; wherein we have moved & called you forth; for this your implacable dissobedience & rebellion we shall utterly & forever excommunicate & cast thee forth in perpetuall forgetfulness, & condem thee into endless, & unspeakable tofments, & shall destroy thy name; the which lieth here inclosed, & inter'd, & also bound, chained, and shut up in this Box, and which we shall bury, & combure in Sulpherous flames as a true mysticall representment or type of a reall , & corporall ordination, conjoined & knit up in the very body, & essetiall being of your selfe, & thereby throw you headlong into Eternall oblivion, & so into endless paines, & punishments in fire unquenchable, & in darkness unavoydabl even pass all hopes of Redemption or diliviry, as judgment justly due unto your deservings; and all other obstinate, perverse, disobedient, and Rebellious Spirits. Now therefore yet once more & againe, we do in the true and great name of your God, & by the principle head of your orders, & by the devine Attribut reffered thereunto, & the true seal or Character thereof conferming the same, & all so binding & commanding you all, but such your orders & offices proper, from the superior to the inferiour, unto both Cœlestiall & Terrestiall service, homage & obedience & by the true & perticular seale or Charactor of your Creation, & in by & through these great powerfull & most efficacious names whereby King Salomon moved, called-forth, constrained, bound, inclosed, or shut up Spirits, **Elbrack, Ebanher, Agla, Goth, Joth, Athie, Venach, Nabruch;** & by the power, vertue force influence effecacy, dignity, & Authority of all, & also of all those invocations, & constringations, whereby we have so often, & earnestly moved, & called you forth to visible appearance, & by all the great & Royall words, & sentences therein contained, & also we doe (as before we have saide) yet once more and againe powerfully conjure, command, constraine, call-forth, & move you o ye spirit by name called **N:** from your orders, mansion, or place of Residence; or wheresoever else you are at this [152r] present; or otherwise may chansly happen to be, (excepting by

Devine Appointment) immediately, & forthwith at this very moment without any further excuse, hinderance, tarring, delay, delusion, or other pretence whatsoever, to come with hast away, & Appear in faire & decent forme, visibly here before us, & in peaceble & serene order & manner, & no wise terrible, hurtfull, dreadfull, or affrightfull to us, thereby to Astonish or assault us, or to surpassee our senses with any sudden terroure, feare, & Amazement, and without any the least injury, harme or damage to this place or to any other place person or thing whatsoever or wheresoever upon the Earth, speaking plainly, & making true & faithfull Answars unto us, in whatsoever we have or shall have to say unto or ask of you, so as that we may both sensibly heare & understand you, & also to obsrve & keep our precepts inviably unto (?) us and as faithfully to effect, performe, & fullfill unto us, all & every our demands, desires & requests, that we shall make unto you, as you shall answer the contempt thereof, at your untmst perrills, and as you will avoide the penalty of that most dreadfull & terrible sentence; which in case of your further persistence in this your disobedience & Rebelious obstinacy; wherefore now then behold O ye pertinacious, Disobediant & perverse & Refractory Spirit N: behold (we say) your conclusion, & be noe longer thus disobedient & willfully obstinate, but move, come away, & appear ye visible here before us in manner & order, as before we have said, &c.

If yet the Spirit appeareth not, neither any signes of its coming or shew thereof, as yet visibly appeareth to sight or apprehension, then having a fire of Charcole or any other fuell before the Circle, in manner & place accordingly as [152v] aforesaid &c: throw some Brimstone thereinto, & holding up the Box [upon the point of the sword],<sup>420</sup> being bound or chained up with Iron Bond, first by itself, & then within a Brush, or Bundle of Bryer or sweete Brier in manner & forme also as before mentioned, & holding by the same (say as followeth) still casting more Brimstone into the Fire, as it consumeth, &c:<sup>421</sup>

### *The second Constraint:*

Behold o you Spirit N that noew because you are still pertinacious, Refractory disobedient & Rebellois, And as yet Appeareth not visibly unto us, nor sheweth any certaine signe or apprehensive testimony thereof, nor otherwise Answered our expectations, notwithstanding we have so often, & so powerfully moved, commanded called-forth, & constrained you thereunto, for the which you having thereby proved your selfe Guilty of most high contempt, Rebellion, dissobediance, and of the grand offences, and unpardonable crimes, both against your God & us also his servants; we shall now therefore in the true & most especiall name of your God, & Lord, both of heaven & earth, the only creator & most high judge & mervelous desposer of things both Cœlestiall Terrestiall & Infernall, visible & invisible; according to such his great mercyes, or very

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<sup>420</sup> Words in square brackets written as a marginal note in the MS.

<sup>421</sup> This paragraph of rubric written *sec. man.*

severe judgments, & punishments, as the just rewards due unto their deservings doth merit or shall require, in whome, through Grace & mercy, by devine dispensation, united in the Blessed Trinity, we are at this time powerfully dignified, fortified, & supported, & by the vertue, force, influence, efficacy thereof, & of all whatsoever hath been saide before unto you, & also by the vertue & power of those greate, mighty, & powerfull names **Elbrick, Ebanher, Agla, Goth, Joth, Athie, Venach, Nabruch**, whereby King Solomon moved, called-forth, constrained, bound inclosed, or shut up spirits; [153r] we shall (we say) for ever excommunicate, deprive & cast you forth, out of all office power & liberty o you Spirit **N:** for this your most high dissobediance, contempt & Rebellion, into utter darkness & perdition, into they bottomless pit, or lake of unquenchable fire wherein you shall be also Chained, or bound up, in perpetuall & unspeakable torments, even to the utmost period of time, unless you immediatly obey, & at this very instant moment; Move come away, & Appeare visibly unto us, and also to shew-forth true signs thereof; and move therefore, & yet againse at last we say unto you, O ye spirit **N:** we do powerfully hereby constrain you to move, come away & Appeare visibly here before us in manner & forme, as we have before saide; as you will Answare these your great & unpardonable contempt before that your most high & true God, who shall undoutedly judge, & reward, all the wicked, Rebellious, Refractory, dissobediant, Adverse & obstinate Spirits, with such endless paines & punishments, as in his devine justice shall be adjudged, most justly due unto these your dissobediant, & Rebellious deservings, the which in his most high great & mighty name; & by his most invincible power, troughe Cœlestiall Grace, & mercy, dispense in the Blessed Trinity, wherewith we are att this time powerfully dignified, Armed, & invested; we shall accordingly judge & condeme you, & the which, with as great severity, shall be of us (as the true servants of the most high God) assuredly; and certainly inflicted upon you, behold therefore this your last conclusion, & be no longer dissobediant.

Heere make a little Pause, & if no visible appearance or signe thereof shall as yet be seene or perceived, then procede on as followeth, the which observe with greate care & diligence:<sup>422</sup>

[153v] *The third Constraint, being the great Chaine or Sentence*

O you spirit, who by name art called **N:** Know ye that in the truest, & greatest name both of your, & of our most high, Almighty omnipotent immortall, eternall, immense, incomprehensible, inscrutiable, & just God, & Lord of hosts, in the unity of the blessed Trinity, after whose Image we are expressly made, & the which we do accordingly beare & in whome (through divine grace, & paternall goodness mercifully descending) by the

<sup>422</sup> This paragraph of rubric and the title of the next "Constraint" written *sec. man.*

strength of our hope, faith, frust & stedfast confidence, we are also dignified with Angelicall power, & invested with cœlestiall soverainty, & Authority as Terrestiall Monarchs, of the Creation, being consubstantiate, & choherent symbolically with the God-head, heavens, Angells, elements, & Elementall things; thereby Receiveing from a Certaine connexive inherence an Absolute & imperiall power & command over all Angelical spirits, & other spirituall powers, & Creatures, Whether Elementall or infernall, or of Light, or Darkness, Dignified or undignified, or as messeges of devine justice either of mercy or penal severity, from the Superiour to the Inferiour of what order, office, degree, or nature soever they are; Know ye therefore (we say againe) O ye spirit **N:** that you being found (by having proved yourself) most notoriously & positively Guilty of the greatest obstinacy, dissobediance, & Rebellion, against heaven, & against us truly Symbolising therewith, and against all whatsoever we have as yet hitherto saide; Rehearsed or otherwise more expressly moved, Requested, or commanded you that by the virtue power & efficacy of all, we have before saide, & by [154r] the influence & force of all the Royall words & sentances therein contained, & by the mighty power of those great & ineffable names wherewith King Solomon moved, called forth, constrained, bound, inclosed, or shut up spirits: **Ebrack, Ebanher, Agla, goth, Joth, Othie Venoch, Nabrach;** we do (in the name & by the power of devine justice) for this your most notorious Guilt, of so great obstinacy, dissobediance, & Rebellion, utterly excommunicate & forever deprive & cast you forth O thou spirit **N:** out of all office, power, & liberty, & be thou (o thou spirit who art by name called **N:**) hereby, & by the virtue & power of all before saide, for ever excommunicate & utterly cast out from before the presence both of Cœlestiall & elementall power, office, & light; & also utterly deprived of all hopes<sup>423</sup> of devine Grace, mercy, or deliverance, during the which continuance, & untill the utmost period of time into the bottomless pit, or lake of perpetually darkness, & Forgetfulness, or other place of Tenebrous or internall Teravour; & severest punishments, prepared for all Rebellious, disobedient, obstinate, & pertinacious spirits, whose portion shall be with the damned, in fire unquenchable, & torment unspeakable: & behold (O thou disobedient, Rebelious & obstinate; Spirit; who by name art called **N:**) that as thy name inclosed in this box, being Rationally a true Terrestiall tipe, really Representing your spirituall body by a certain mutuall Consustantiation, mystically uniting Terrestiall ordiantions, & operations, with Spirituall parts & participations, as they are corporally passive, & subject thereunto, is chained, or bound up & shall be choked in sulphurous & stinking substances & burnt in this matteriall fire; so behold (O you spirit **N:**) we do powerfully hereby cast you forth into the bottomless pit of unquenchable flames or other place of darkness, even the most

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<sup>423</sup> Doubtful; “all <something> of” written *sup. lin.*, very cramped and partly obscured by descenders of the letters of the line above, and I am not sure I have transcribed the second word correctly.

terrible Tophet of endless & unspeakable torments, wherein you shall remaine bound, [154v] or Chained up, untill the dreadfull and great day of judgement and there shall never be more remembrance of thee, before the face of God, who shall come to judge the quick & the dead, & the world by fire, as a due & just reward of this your disobedience, obstinacy & Rebellion, fiat, fiat, fiat.

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Sloane MSS. 1727, 3188, 3191, 3821, 3824, 3825, 3846, 3847, 3850, 3851

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MS. V.b. 26, “Book of Magic with instructions for evoking spirits,” MS. X.d. 234

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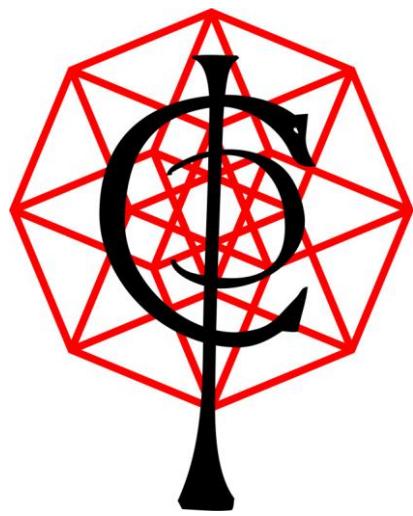
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